The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1920 No. 2886

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agents for Subscriptions and Advertising: Swarthmore Press Ltd., 72 Oxford St., London.

WITHOUT even a noteworthy dying flurry the Democratic campaign comes to its foredoomed end. That Governor Cox faces an overwhelming defeat is now freely conceded by the political correspondents of even the pro-Cox newspapers. For this he is in no wise responsible. True, he has not bettered his chances by his campaign, or made them much worse. He has not been the issue, and so the public has cared very little what he has said, as it cares precious little about the League of Nations. The one fundamental issue is now evident: it is Woodrow Wilson himself. Upon that issue the electorate of the United States made up its mind long ago and it now looks as if it would be so nearly unanimous as to place the verdict beyond insinuations that it was due to money, to the Irish, to the Germans, or to any other of the seventeen groups whom Governor Cox is charging with a wicked conspiracy to defeat him—he has now forgotten all about the alleged Republican purchase of the presidency. Doubtless there are seventeen—and more—groups determined to turn out the Democrats, but that only means that Wilsonism with its administrative inefficiency, its incredible hypocrisy and insincerity, its needlessly putting us into the war which has neither ended war nor safeguarded democracy, its betrayal of American idealism at Paris, has gradually offended one set of Americans after the other. Let us hope there are seventy groups who still value the old qualities of sincerity and intellectual honesty, who still have consciences to be reckoned with, who still burn with sufficient loyalty to our institutions to turn out their unworthy servants from the highest offices of the land.

IN New York political interest centers upon the candidacies of Governor Smith and Senator Wadsworth, with the women of the State making a special campaign to defeat the latter. Thoroughly does he deserve defeat. Not because of his opposition to suffrage. He had a right to stand by his opinion however antedeluvian, and the issue is now dead. It is his generally reactionary attitude which marks him as one who should be retired from public life. His grandfather died in the Wilderness as a major general. Senator Wadsworth, as ardent a militarist as any Prussian, failed to go with his troop of cavalry to the Mexican border and hastily resigned his commission before the war with Germany. He is none the less for universal military service in peace time and automatic conscription in war time—the author of the first universal training bill reported in the Senate. If he were to control America we should be in Germany's old place in no time. But his militarism is only one of the counts against him. There is nothing of the democrat about him; he is distinctly a representative of corporation control in politics and it is a disgraceful thing that the Republican nomination went to him almost by default, for he is without the ability or the industry requisite for the position. Yet the prospect is that the Republican tidal wave will sweep him back into the office he in no wise adorns.

FOR Governor Smith, on the other hand, who deserves reelection, the prospect is less favorable. Whereas Senator Wadsworth comes from perhaps the most patrician of our great land-holding families, "Al" Smith, as everyone calls him, comes right out of the plain people that throng the East Side of New York City. His rise is the sort of thing that Americans were once proudest of as most typical of this republic, and it is conceded that he has made, as Governors go, an excellent Governor. A product of Tammany Hall, he none the less has the respect of all the enemies of that institution—the founder of the Citizens' Union, Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, so long a leader of the reform forces, is working for his reelection. Governor Smith bravely vetoed the reactionary bills passed by the Republican Legislature last spring which practically abolished freedom of education in New York State and appropriated $100,000 for the creation of a State secret service bureau to hunt down "criminal anarchy," and met with amazingly little criticism for so doing. He has outlined numerous constructive suggestions for the Legislature, some of which have been adopted. If he and the Legislature have not even scratched the surface of the housing problem, his desire to aid the State and his own personal rectitude are such that he frequently does things unscathed which would get others into serious trouble. Thus, to the Legislature which expelled the Socialists, Governor Smith recommended in his annual message nine out and out socialistic proposals, ranging from the State's going into the business of producing and distributing milk to the owning and operating of grain elevators. Yet not even the New York *Times* scolded him for it. The Governor will run thousands upon thousands of votes ahead of his ticket.

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THE noisy patriots who howled down Major George Haven Putnam at the lecture he tried in vain to deliver at the Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn were absolutely in the wrong and deserve unequivocal condemnation. Nor should any one take more than the hastiest pleasure in the fact that poetic justice has returned with the neatness of melodramas and boomerangs upon the head of a man who has done as much as any private citizen in America to encourage the kind of lawlessness which here exercised its tyranny upon one of its instigators. Major Putnam feels that his seventy-six years as an American give him the right to be heard; we should say that the mere fact of his existence gives him the right to be heard by any one whom he can get to hear him. Speech must be free, no matter whose speech it is. Retaliations are as obnoxious in one place as another, and all the more regrettable in this particular case, since those who practiced retaliation may be said to represent, doubtless unconsciously, the cause of those American citizens who were repressed during the war and who still continue to be repressed whenever they venture upon a minority opinion. Those who repressed Major Putnam ought to know that such behavior discredits a cause which becomes more, not less, sacred in proportion as it suffers from official usurpation. That the authorities of Mount Vernon, New York, on October 12 arrested John Haynes Holmes, Rose Schneidermann, and Norman Thomas for reading the Constitution of the United States in the open streets of that spotless town, is surely enough lawlessness for one week. Fortunately, an able and upright judge—Judge Keogh—has declared the offending local ordinance unconstitutional, and he is a judge who is rarely reversed.

THAT the long delayed trial of strength between the British miners and the Government should take place over a slight difference between the wages asked and the wages offered is utterly regrettable. The miners may be asking for only what is their just due, but this is no time for a strike over a shilling or two a day forced by the failure of the Government to live up to its promises. A great part of Europe depends upon British coal and to forbid its export was one of the first acts of the Government. From France to the Near East the news of the strike will bring consternation to peoples for whom the struggle for existence is already drear enough. In England, too, the price to be paid by innocent sufferers is likely to be staggering if the struggle lasts long. The Government could and should settle the question by honestly applying the findings of its own commission. But, meanwhile, democratically as this strike has been called, it seems unlikely that it will have the sanction of public opinion or of that part of it which has been standing behind the miners in their fight for lower prices of coal, for state ownership, and for decent living conditions for the mineworkers. Finally, the strike is a tactical mistake; if Lloyd George should seize upon it as an excuse to go before the voters for a fresh mandate, raising the cry of bolshevism and dictation by a minority, he would in all likelihood be returned to a fresh lease of power—and that is something which for the sake of the peace and progress of the world, to say nothing of Ireland and England, ought not to come to pass.

BRITAIN, it seems, sees her future better secured by a peaceful Europe producing and demanding goods than by a Europe tearing itself to fragments in an endless competition in slaughter. If peace and productivity involve "shaking hands with murder" the British statesmen now in control will find themselves able to grasp the hands of the erstwhile bloody Bolsheviki without flinching. If Germany must be restored in the process of making Europe again a valuable property, why, Germany will be restored and old promises to the British people will be quietly forgotten. England wants no more wars than her own empire and its fringes and outposts have already provided for her. Whether the British Government will go to the length of an actual alliance with its recent enemy may well be doubted, but the crumbling of the Entente, presaged since the early days of the Peace Conference by a hundred rumors denied, differences "adjusted," and incidents "minimized," can no longer be questioned. For the hour Great Britain wants peace and trade and a chance to settle the affairs of her own considerable portion of the globe. If the Russian debt is left unpaid, if the German indemnity goes by the boards—so much the worse for France. That seems to be the current British attitude, and the responsibility for the strain on Anglo-French relations cannot by any means be wholly attributed to the indefensibly warlike policy that dominates the present government of France.

WHETHER France can produce another war against Russia, as "authoritative French quarters" have recently hinted, is not altogether certain. The Polish peace was undoubtedly a blow to the busy imperialists—French and Russian and Polish—gathered at Paris. It gave Poland a better line than she is likely to be able to hold, but the Bolsheviki are still the masters of Russia, and the Czar's debts are still bad debts. A recent dispatch to the New York *Tribune* stated that conversations with the object of initiating anti-Bolshevik policies are taking place "under French inspiration among all the border peoples from the Baltic to the Black Sea." The Poles, it reports further, "intend to take the leadership in the new operations" using the armistice and peace with Russia as "an interval" in which they can "prepare a new offensive." Thus would the upholders of Western idealism and honor put an end to those breakers of treaties, the Bolsheviki. The fact is, however, that France and her friends may not be able to indulge their malevolence to the extent that "authoritative quarters" would like the American public to believe. The various minor imperialisms have doubtless men enough to make a showing; men are cheap and hungry and work is everywhere scarce. But France will have to resolve the bitter contentions now existing between the small nations themselves; she will have to exercise considerable finesse, for instance, to induce her present protégé, Hungary, to battle on the same side with her former protégé, Rumania, and Lithuania to side with the Poles. Moreover, wars cost money and the small nations have none to draw upon and France has none to lend—unless the United States helps out. Incidentally, the reported decision of our War Department to send further supplies to Poland is worth investigation.

AUSTRIA, feeble remnant of the old and mighty Austrian Empire, wants to join Germany. It was so obvious at the time of the "Peace Conference" that she wanted to join Germany and that annexation to Germany was the only way to avoid her economic ruin that the treaty with Germany included a clause forbidding Germany to accept

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Austria, and the treaty with Austria a clause forbidding Austria to join Germany, unless the League of Nations gave its sacred permission. As the League cannot give its permission except by unanimous vote of its Executive Council, and as France, haunted by the fear of an imperialist Germany redivivus, has a representative on that Executive Council, the loophole left for Austria was small indeed. But the Austrians, with a pitifully faint hope in the past utterances of Entente statesmen about self-determination and the League, are taking a plebiscite vote on the question of an appeal to the League. The now almost universal realization in Europe of Austria's desperate plight might give the Austrians some hope if there were left any reason to expect any change of mind and heart from French statesmen; instead their real hope is that France may look with favor on the proposal that they join clerical Bavaria, and thereby strengthen the forces opposing both radicalism and Prussia in present-day Germany. England and Italy appear at last to have realized the necessity of union, and our own Government has as yet shown no intent to intrude.

LENIN'S strenuous conditions for admission to the Third Internationale seem to many of the tried leaders of western Socialism too high a price to pay for entrance to any show. But the rank and file, convinced that Russia has the only real live revolution now running, seem ready to gamble any stakes to join hands with it. Most of the old leaders of the German Independent Socialists balked at the sacrifice of the party's independence of action involved in acceptance of Moscow's conditions, but the delegates overwhelmed them and insisted upon Moscow at any price. The party is left almost leaderless, the leaders almost partyless. In France the Confederation of Labor, where Jouhaux, Gompers-like, still holds the throne, voted, as was expected, two to one against joining Moscow, but the Socialist Party will probably follow the German lead and crowd to the Moscow show. The Executive Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party has withdrawn its previous adherence to the Third Internationale, but the membership referendum may, as in Germany, overrule the action of the leaders. Meanwhile the Italians seem quite content to make their own revolution in their own way, while demanding the recognition of the Soviets, and the British continue their traditional course, independently of continental winds. The split between dictatorial Communists and Social Democrats is wider than ever.

THE first of the Cork hunger strikers has died, there have been more murders in Ireland, and there has been no indication of any change in the attitude of the British Government. Reprisals and counter-reprisals are the order of the day, and the public is still left in the dark, uncertain amid the welter of charges and counter-charges where lies the truth. Daily the necessity for the Committee of One Hundred on Ireland organized at the suggestion of *The Nation* becomes more apparent. Viscount Grey, Lord Morley, and Mr. Asquith have demanded an immediate change in British policy; Lord Robert Cecil has called for investigation by a British constitutional tribunal. But obviously the findings of no official or semi-official British tribunal would be accepted as impartial outside of England, and should the tribunal hold its sessions in England or in Ireland under present conditions witnesses would hardly feel safe in speaking their minds freely and the suspicion would be inevitable that the bitter edge of the truth was dulled by fear of reprisal. Preparations for the public sessions of the Committee of One Hundred are proceeding steadily; the five members of the Commission of Inquiry which will actually hold the sessions are now being chosen by vote of the members of the Committee of One Hundred, which has grown to a Committee of One Hundred and Fifty.

JOHN REED was of the fellowship of adventure, of explorers and prophets. He had in him a capacity for living and daring and loving that made him a flaming embodiment of the rebellious spirit of the younger generation. He had already distinguished himself before he left Harvard; from college he went to the *American Magazine*, where he published one of the finest tributes ever penned to William James. His power of painting pictures with words made him a natural, perhaps sometimes too vivid and dramatic, reporter; the *Metropolitan Magazine* sent him to Mexico, where he found in Villa a temporary hero of romance; he told colorfully the story of the Colorado massacres in the 1914 strike; then, when the war broke out, he became of course a war correspondent—and one of the most highly paid in America. But unlike Sir Philip Gibbs he could not reserve three-quarters of the truth he saw for later telling, but poured out all his soul, and lost his job. He wrote as well as ever, but as his observations and always intense sympathies dictated, not as he was told, and so the paying magazines would have no more of him. When the Russian Revolution broke out, the *Masses* sent him to Russia, where he lived enthusiastically in the era of realization. He came back filled with a new dream and a new vision and found life in America and the American Socialist Party dull and halting. He was arrested here and there, but always acquitted—it would be hard to persuade any jury to convict John Reed; he organized the Communist Labor Party, edited two or three radical magazines, spoke, wrote, and then—not to escape trial, for that he had faced time and again, but as a moth turns to the flame—returned to Russia. And there, not yet thirty-three, still crusading, he has died of typhus.

THE publishers of books are unhappy. They wonder loudly how, at the present cost of production, they are going to continue to provide us with reading matter. Like other people they would like to double their prices. But since they know that their wares are considered far more dispensable than lip-sticks or chewing-gum, they are wary of demanding what they need. Ice-cream sodas have gone up from ten cents to twenty and more; the $1.50 novel has crept timidly to $1.90 or two dollars. The difficulty is very real. But the publishers themselves are not quite guiltless of clouding their situation. If you are so hard put to it, the intelligent public may well ask, why do you waste labor and material on volumes of third-rate verse and insignificant essays? A notable volume should command publication without question. But why, to take a recent example, make a handsome book of twelve literally worthless poems by a British editor? Why, in addition, do certain houses continue the bad old habit of gambling in cheap and lurid fiction? For one such book that makes money a dozen barely pay the printer's bill. In brief, the slogan "fewer and better books," which was tentatively raised recently, is needed not only from a literary but also from an economic point of view.

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Last Aid to Voters

THE position that *The Nation* has taken in the present campaign against both Cox and Harding and in favor of a vote either for Christensen or Debs, has aroused considerable inquiry, much approval, and some dissent among our readers. Some have assumed, because we declined to subscribe *in toto* to either the Socialist or the Farmer-Labor platforms*, that we did not want to see either Debs or Christensen elected and were advocating a protest vote for them which we would not advise if they had any chance of success at the polls. But the choice is rarely poor this year and we would rather see Christensen or Debs or Macauley chosen than Cox or Harding. We do not accept all that any one of them stands for, but practical politics is usually a compromise; few thinking men ever have had, or ever will have, a chance to vote for a party whose platform they accept in its entirety. The point is that the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist programs present at least the basis for more hopeful development than the old party policies, which fail to meet any of the demands of the new age which is upon us.

It is obvious that the determining factor in this campaign is a desire to rebuke and put an end to the policies of the Wilson administration. So strong is this desire that many intelligent voters make no attempt to distinguish between the indistinguishable Governor Cox and Senator Harding. The state of war with Germany would probably continue longer under Cox and we might more immediately and uncritically be committed to the League. Harding, on the other hand, might easily lead us into war with Mexico or sponsor a high tariff measure. To the average voter, however, these possibilities are of no consequence beside his desire to get rid of Wilsonism. To do this he imagines the most effective way is to vote for Harding. We do not think so. By electing Harding the country will get rid of Wilson next March. But in his place will be an unenlightened and reactionary Republican machine, its face set flintily toward the past, totally out of touch with the spirit of a new age to which it will be unwilling and unable to adapt itself. What the country needs above all, to borrow one of the Wilsonian phrases which have never been taken from their oratorical shelves for use, is to "give the government back to the people." Something closely akin to this desire underlies the electorate's purpose to rid itself of the autocrat in the White House. Yet the idea that this can be accomplished by voting for the self-effacing Mr. Harding seems ludicrous when one considers the prospect of Boies Penrose and the Senatorial clique as Mr. Harding's collaborators in the task of restoring the government to the people.

Who is against Wilson? Nearly everyone, if one may exclude the solid South, where voting Democratic is as much a religion as a political faith, and those still considerable though steadily dwindling voters for whom party regularity transcends policies, facts, and the urge of a changing time. Lifelong Democrats and hereditary Republicans unite in their determination to shuffle off Wilsonism. Why is it that the opposite poles of political faith, from reactionary to radical, with the many shades of average American between, are linked in their detestation of Wilsonism? Well, for one thing, because of its insincerity. Reactionary as Union League Club Republicanism, Wilsonism, with its spurious liberal professions, has never secured the confidence of American Bourbons. Moderate conservatives, liberals, and radicals on the other hand are the more incensed because of the varying degrees of deception to which they were subjected by its erstwhile fine phrases and flowery rhetoric. Essentially there is no difference between the two major parties, but superimposed on the reaction that each spells the Democrats are accountable for conspicuous incompetence and glaring hypocrisies. That is the motif of the present campaign and the reason Wilson and all his works will be overwhelmingly rejected despite the pathetic ineffectiveness of Harding; despite the widespread antagonism to Old Guard control, dating from 1912; despite the Lusks and the Sweets who balance Palmer and Burleson; despite the knowledge of millions who will vote for Harding that he will not and cannot touch problems which most vitally affect them. It will be, as we have said, "election by disgust."

Recommend so gloomy a prospect to our readers? Never! To vote for Harding in order to repudiate Wilson is in effect setting the stamp of approval on the very system which quadrennially offers only so nauseating a lack of choice. "A yellow dog year," was the boast last spring of the Republican Old Guard. Did the spectacle of Democratic mismanagement and wrongdoing stimulate the Republican powers to pick as good, as able, and as antithetical a candidate as they could find? On the contrary. It impelled them to select as incompetent, as inconsequential, and as hitchable an Ohio politician as they thought they could "put over" on the writhing electorate.

No! The course for every one who values American tradition and ideals, who believes in the persistence of what was and is good in our national life, who desires the elimination of what is bad, who looks for progress and hopes for better things, seems so unmistakably clear as to disparage discussion. It is to vote against the old parties, except where individual candidates who have conspicuously and valiantly stood up against the tide of reaction deserve election on their personal merits. Eclectic voting is always preferable to blind party adherence. There are men running for Congress on all four tickets who could form a progressive bloc which might often tip the scales. But for President, the choice is clear. A vote for Cox or Harding means nothing; only a protest vote will count. Neither Farmer-Labor nor Socialist parties will elect the President this year, but votes cast for them will have unmistakable political meaning. *The Nation* makes no recommendation of choice between Farmer-Labor and Socialist Party beyond the suggestion that in certain regions where one party's prospects are unmistakably fair its choice would be logical. In South Dakota, for instance, where the Farmer-Labor has an excellent chance of carrying the State, it is the Liberal's duty to support Christensen. Finally, if there be those too timid to cast their political lot with a party the doctrines of which they cannot wholly or even in large part indorse, who do not realize the crying need of new purpose and new vision in national politics, let them stay away from the polls this year and spend election day tramping the woods or the fields where the air is pure and the sky is clean.

* The Farmer-Labor platform is printed in full in this issue.

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Murder Will Out

THE truth will out—even about Haiti, and despite the daily newspapers. Major General George Barnett's report of "practically indiscriminate killing" in Haiti more than confirms the charges which *The Nation* alone in the American press has made about the foul record of our Administration in Haiti. *The Nation* has been maligned, abused, denounced, sneered at, for printing the truth about Haiti. Only three days before General Barnett's report was published, the New York *Times* wrote that

> Mr. Harding got his information about conditions in Haiti from a weekly paper in this city which if not actually Bolshevist is so near it that the distinction is not visible to the naked eye. Will he get his information when he is President from professional admirers of Lenin and Trotzky, part of whose creed is that their own country is always wrong? And will he continue to talk about "thousands" as he did of the Haitian brigands killed by our marines when the facts show that there were only a few hundreds?

Now that General Barnett states that 3,250 Haitians—even more than *The Nation,* and Senator Harding, using the data of *The Nation,* had charged—were killed—and time will reveal that the killing was in many instances deliberate cold-blooded murder—the *Times* does not apologize for its past prevarications or for its slurs at those who told the truth; it merely says: "The American people have not had the details. They have not known what was going on." Whose fault was it if not that of the newspapers pledged to give "all the news that's fit to print," of the newspapers which denounced those who did tell the public what was going on as "professional admirers of Lenin and Trotzky, part of whose creed is that their country is always wrong"? The New York *Evening Post* calls General Barnett's revelations "a shock to those who have cherished the conviction that American military rule did not imitate the coercive methods of some more experienced and more callous governments." But General Barnett's revelations were no news to the editors of the *Evening Post,* who read *The Nation* regularly; when Mr. Seligmann, three months ago, compared our record in Haiti to that of Belgium in the Congo, of Germany in Belgium, and of England in Egypt and India, the *Evening Post* remarked that "he only excites distrust of his own judgment." None so blind as those who will not see!

The Nation hopes to print extended extracts from General Barnett's report in a later number. The meager summaries published in the daily press give sufficient indication of the shameful data which exist in the files of the Navy Department, and throw a curious light upon General Lejeune's whitewashing report issued only a week before the Barnett report, and upon Secretary Daniels's note published at the same time regarding his own instructions to treat the Haitians "as friendly brothers" and his statement that, "with a very few exceptions, the officers and men carried out in letter and in spirit the order to set an example in helpfulness and kindness in the discharge of a difficult duty." Thirty-two hundred and fifty Haitians killed, as against a total American loss of one officer and twelve men is a strange "example of helpfulness and kindness"!

General Barnett tells us that there are further records which have disappeared from the files of the Marine Corps, and further reports which have not been made public. The American people cannot and will not permit these facts to be hidden permanently. Their honor is at stake; it is not helped by concealment of disgraceful truths, and can only be preserved by the relentless publication of the whole truth and the unhesitating punishment of those responsible, up to the very top of the naval hierarchy. They will not be satisfied to know that a Lieutenant Brokaw, guilty of atrocities, has since been committed as insane; they will want to know why Secretary Daniels reinstated Captain George D. Hamilton, convicted of giving orders to shoot prisoners; they will want to know why the Navy Department has systematically concealed and suppressed the truth, and lied about it when it leaked out; and they will demand that the wrong done to Haiti be redressed.

The silence of our American newspapers regarding the news in Haiti and Santo Domingo has been one more proof of the low estate to which the press has fallen. The facts which *The Nation* has revealed and which General Barnett has confirmed are not new facts; they are merely revelations of a festering canker which has existed for five years. Indeed, there are indications that conditions, in Haiti at least, are somewhat better than they have been. The big daily newspapers with their immense staffs of skilled reporters and highly paid correspondents have done nothing to tell the American people the facts regarding the conduct of the United States Marine Corps. The evening edition of the New York *World,* thick and thin apologist for the Administration, sent a reporter to the island. He gave us only official eye-wash, and now the morning edition attempts to deprecate even General Barnett's damning report. The newspapers which boast of their freedom and independence have tamely acquiesced in the censorship and have cast slurs upon those who protested. It took the protest of a presidential candidate in a campaign year and the report of a major general to squeeze mention of the facts into their news columns. And if these revelations force the printing of more news than hitherto, we may confidently expect it to be of the apologetic and deprecatory character of the editorials on the Barnett report in the *World* and *Evening Post.* We shall watch the Republican papers to see whether their sudden interest in Haiti survives the election. For Haiti is as truly as Russia the acid test of our democracy, and it is the acid test of our press as well.

A bumper harvest of excuses is sure to follow upon the Barnett report. The fact that men in American uniform have shot down Haitians en masse and in cold blood has been established beyond cavil or doubt; we shall now be told that these Haitians were "bandits," "niggers," "bad actors." It will be hard for the defenders of our course to continue their oft-repeated assertions that the shootings were in self-defense, or in retaliation for the murder of Americans. Thirteen Americans in all were killed: for every American killed, two hundred and fifty Haitians met death. This was not defensive warfare, it was not even war; it was slaughter. Despite the statements of the New York *World* which must know better, we were not invited by Haiti to land our forces; we forced ourselves upon Haiti. We did not prevent bloodshed nor have we increased the safety of travel in Haiti. The thing for us to do is to cease making lying excuses and to get out, and make such belated amends for our murders as we can.

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The China Consortium

IN the formation of the new China consortium, the bankers of the United States have committed this country to a foreign policy beside which the ratification of the League of Nations covenant may be academic and unimportant. The consortium is nothing less than a working league of nations, whose officials are financiers and whose covenant is the agreement reached last week by bankers representing France and England, Japan and the United States. Whether this financial league is to be a league for peace or for war, for preserving the rights of a backward nation or for asserting the ambitions of groups and interests, depends upon the men who dominate it, and the methods they use. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont has said that the consortium is to be "an international partnership for the purpose of assisting China in the development of her great public enterprises." It may result in such a partnership or it may not; but the first thing the bankers and the State Department should do to prove their honest intention is to publish the entire agreement.

The public cannot take any one's word for the contents or intentions of that document; too much is at stake and too many conflicting interests are involved. When, during the Peace Conference, bankers representing the four great Powers met at Paris on the suggestion of our Department of State to negotiate a new consortium, the attitude of the United States—always humane and honest in its intentions toward China—seemed for the moment to prevail. It was not a time when selfish desires and dishonorable plans could safely be revealed. But elements of dissension were present, and after Japan had concluded her successful negotiations, after Mr. Wilson had even yielded up Shantung, the Japanese Foreign Office repudiated the action of the Japanese bankers in submitting to American domination at Paris and announced that Japan would enter the consortium only with certain "reservations." Specifically it demanded that Mongolia, Manchuria, and—at that time—Shantung be exempted from the operations of the consortium. The Government of the United States refused this demand, but Japan set to work, none the less, to spread the impression that the Powers had assented to the Japanese reservations.

Mr. Lamont's mission to Japan and China was undertaken to induce the Japanese Foreign Office to withdraw its reservations and enter the consortium, and to undo the harm Japan had wrought in China by its propaganda. The delays and shifts, the promises and procrastinations of the Japanese Government made the final outcome a dubious victory. After endless conferences Mr. Lamont was assured that the Japanese Government would join the consortium without reservations. Official announcement of this action was to be made at a public dinner with Mr. Lamont taking part. Both Mr. Lamont's and the Japanese representative's speeches were prepared in advance, and submitted to both sides for approval; copies were given in advance to the press. On the day prior to the dinner, the *Kokusai* (the Japanese semi-official news service) distributed throughout China and Japan a version of the speeches that made it appear that Japan's reservations had been accepted by the American group. From that time until the present, Japan's press propaganda in China has maintained by innuendo and even by direct assertion that Japan's reservations have been accepted as the basis of her entering the consortium.

However, it has been announced by the group of bankers which has just consummated the new agreement in New York that Japan has entered the China consortium on equal terms; that Chinese representation will be welcomed (an ironical bit of liberality); that the originally disinterested aim of the United States to keep the "open door" at least a crack open has been maintained. But more than mere assurance is needed. If the consortium should be dominated by Japan's reservations it would become nothing better than an international agreement to rob China of her last shred of independence; while even if it is not actually controlled by Japan, a widespread suspicion to the contrary in China would quite as effectively ruin its chances of usefulness. Sir Charles Addis, British representative at the New York conference, said: "Without the assent and goodwill of China the consortium is not only powerless to act, but has no desire to act." The assent and goodwill of China can only be gained by throwing open every channel of publicity and proving by the terms of the agreements that the proposed domination of Japan is not being secretly ratified.

The people of the United States have every reason to demand the facts. Not only is American honor at stake, not only is the question of peace or war in the East involved in the terms of the agreement, but American money must stand behind any loan to China. Great Britain and France, and Japan, too, can lend money to China only by first borrowing it from the United States. There seems to be little doubt among students of the Far Eastern question that foreign intervention is required in the development of China. The United States is in a position to insist that such intervention be sincere. We can force Great Britain and France and even Japan to cooperate on our own terms. We can insist that the foreign concessions be merged under the control of the consortium and prevent future incursions of greedy concessionaires. We can keep the door into China open. We can preserve to China at least what is left of her rather technical independence. We can utilize Chinese help in the administration of the consortium. The issue really amounts to this: Is the United States about to yield its traditional policy in China in favor of a policy dictated in Europe and Japan, and to lend American money to sustain that policy; or will the United States insist upon the adoption of its own policy—which has been formally assented to by all the Powers—and refuse credits to Governments which oppose it? Only the publication of the consortium agreement can answer that question. A copy of the text of the agreement is certainly in the hands of the Department of State; copies have presumably been sent to the Governments represented by the cooperating groups; the financial interests involved have copies of their own. If public opinion in China is to be mollified and public opinion in the United States enlightened, if reasonable suspicions are to be removed, the text of the agreement should immediately be made public, for all of the public has not forgotten that on March 18, 1913, Woodrow Wilson said of the original proposal that the responsibility it involved was "obnoxious to the principles upon which the Government of our people rests."

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The Ancient Hunger Strike

THE fast of the devoted Lord Mayor of Cork and his fellow hunger-strikers has become an international drama, its tension heightening week by week. This lonely and hideously slow adventuring into the Dreadful Valley is different from any other kind of martyrdom: it demands a courage which only scientific or religious fanatics have shown. Indeed the psychology of suicide as a means of defense, a method for justice, is hardly known today although every hunger-strike tends to establish this form of social protest more potently. The roots of this method go deep. It was practiced by ancient Hindu and Celt and in modern India survived to be condemned in the English penal code as "barbarous and immoral." In Ireland today its recurrence takes on for those who know Irish legend the character of repeated episode in a long epic tradition. The "fast for constraint" as it was practiced in Irish antiquity has been learnedly dealt with in the Putnam Anniversary Volume of Anthropological Essays (1909) and elsewhere. Only a few examples need be given to prove the brotherhood, not only by blood but by custom, of the Lord Mayor of Cork and his dying associates with those who have so long gone before them.

The Brehon laws of Ireland, traditionally ascribed to St. Patrick's fifth century day, give some curious details. Fasting upon debtors was evidently one way of getting swift settlements. If the faster died, his debtor owed not only his original debt but also the death fine, a kind of Celtic wergild. If the debtor offered food to the faster but gave no pledge of payment, he owed, according to law, double the amount of his original debt. On the other hand if he offered the pledge and gave security and still the faster would not break his fast, the latter forfeited his legal rights. If the debtor would give no pledge, he was in the eyes of the law "an evader of all," to be paid neither by man nor God.

In old Irish literature the fastings are of the most picturesque character. Thus, a father fasts against three rebellious sons to make them grant him a month's truce; three landless men fast even on the Tuathade Danann until they are given a domain. St. Finnen and his followers fast on a recalcitrant pagan until he admits them to his home. Evil living men, whether kings or nobles, were fasted upon by the saints until ruin or remorse overtook the sinners. In their turn mere mortals made fasts upon saints to constrain them to grant victories or to intercede with God on their behalf. In such cases it was conceived that mortal will and mortal suffering created as it were immortal obligation. At need the saints might even fast upon God himself. In a recently published sixteenth century Life of Columcille (University of Illinois, 1918) the story is told that St. Columba did thus so fast upon God that he obtained from Him a victory for his friends though the boon was so ill-pleasing to God that He required in expiation Columba's perpetual exile from Erin.

There are many other beloved legends of a people always mystically minded, to prove that what has seemed an incongruous resistance to imperial law has merely followed a custom and spirit older than the British empire itself. It is a dull heart, indeed, that does not feel something echo from "the hid battlements of Eternity," before this spectacle of historic continuity.

Sports and Arts

THE report that Man o' War, having beaten Sir Barton on the great day that saw Carpentier knock out Levinsky and saw the Indians take the World Series from the Robins, will now retire to private life and give up racing forever, has shocked all those who believe the report. This, say the eugenists, is asking too much of the present generation for the sake of the next; it is like always getting ready for the millennium and yet never enjoying it. The true-blue sportsman naturally repines that so much sport is spoiled by the decision. The moralist complains that for the sake of mere money-making the toils of life are being avoided. And the poets twang their lyres and lift up their most elegiac voices. No more, sing they, will the keen hoof cut the flying track in the full rapture of contest. No more will the happy mane flash in the mad wind of the scamper. No more the paddock tingling with expectation, the grandstand a turmoil of hope, the familiar dust and the arousing glory of the races. After these felicities, the snuffy life of chores and respectability.

Peace, poets! It might not be a bad idea to wait a little until you can find out whether the rumor of Man o' War's retirement is really true. Do you not remember all the farewells which Patti made one after another in the country of her most profitable audiences? And as men of letters yourselves, do you not understand the device by which books are issued in limited first editions so that they will ever have the special value of the rare and the precious? What has happened is merely that the wiles of the arts have entered into the domain of sportsmanship. Patti came back, you will remember, after every last appearance but one. When the first edition of a book has been exhausted there is every reasonable certainty that there will soon be another one, if the populace demands it vigorously. Man o' War of course will never be three years old again, but there are more seasons yet to come, and something tells us that the horse is not finally tucked away under the extinguishing bushel.

But if he is shelved forever, we anticipate for him something like the immortality which has recently come upon John Barleycorn since he left these shores for less pestered regions. Books about John multiply almost daily. The anthologists follow his trail through a thousand tomes of a thousand years and take down all his paeans and epitaphs to preserve them in graceful volumes assembled in commemoration. Now that he is dead there are more recipes for making him than there ever were while he was in the pride of his strength. Professor Saintsbury, whose erudition in matters literary is, like the sequoias of California, merely without an equal, now turns out to be what gossip said he was—as learned in liquor as in letters. His "Notes on a Cellar Book" (Macmillan) will stand, though all the world turn to perpetual drouth, as a monument of the day when things were different.

Drinking, perhaps, though associated enough and too much with sports, was never itself a sport. But it and they are now making common cause at least in their dexterous encroachments upon the art of the arts. Although they have so far progressed no further than through the initial stages, more will come. John Barleycorn will yet have his Homer; some Carpentier will have his adequate Rembrandt; and some Man o' War his exultant Pindar.

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What Happened in Italy

By HIRAM K. MODERWELL

Rome, September 24

THE chief difficulty in the way of writing news of Italian events for American publications is the impossibility of writing a last sentence. Events develop out of each other so restlessly that it is never possible to narrate the end of the story. Even if one uses the cable, one's conclusion is likely to be absurd by the time the dispatch is printed. The present industrial upheaval—by far the most significant Italy has experienced since the armistice—began with a simple wage demand on the part of the metal workers' union. The union made such demands a year ago, struck, and won its strike. In August of this year it made new demands, designed to meet the still rising cost of living, and met with a stubborn refusal. Instead of going on strike and losing several weeks' wages, it initiated "obstructionism," which it has reduced to a science. Now this loafing on the job may be very annoying for the owners, but it is far removed from social explosion. A year ago revolution was in the air. This year it is—or was—distinctly under a cloud. The collapse of the Turin general strike of last spring had left the revolutionary forces divided, discouraged, and perplexed. The metal agitation looked like a mere incident. The leaders, convinced that the times were unpropitious, were noticeably cautious in framing their demands.

Then, overnight, this discreet agitation transformed itself into a revolutionary act. In five hundred factories the employees turned their employers out, raised red flags over the plants, painted the sickle and hammer over the doors, placed red guards on the walls, and elected soviets—pardon, councils—to direct the daily work. Since that time many other factories have been so occupied. Not one has been abandoned, save those whose owners accepted the principle of workers' control. Italy was astonished, certainly. The workmen's leaders themselves were astonished. In view of the accomplished fact they demanded the least that could possibly be considered commensurate with the reality of the situation. They demanded, in addition to the original increase in wages, acceptance of control over all factory operations to be exercised by committees of the workers themselves.

The Socialist Party, seeking the leadership of the movement, demanded the convocation of parliament to enact factory control into law. Strange phenomenon, that the Socialists who were elected on the pledge that they would sabotage parliament, should be clamoring for parliament to help them. But stranger still, the bourgeois parties, elected on the pledge that they would preserve the orderly functioning of parliament, sabotaged by every evasion the projected convocation. The revolutionists placed their faith in bourgeois institutions, the bourgeois in the class struggle.

This is only the beginning of the paradoxes and mysteries of the situation. I fancy a foreigner, reading the narrative of this episode, must wonder if he is not by mistake reading the history of the planet Mars. The foreigner —par excellence, for example, the Frenchman—exclaims: "Why did not the government send the troops to restore the factories to their rightful owners?" Or, why did the industrialists abjectly concede control to the workers? Or, why did a loudly proclaimed "strong" government declare itself neutral in the face of such a massive act of illegality? Or why, after declaring itself "neutral," did it take the side of the law-breakers and bring every pressure upon the industrialists to surrender to them? Yet Italy is not Mars. It is simply a portion of post-war Europe. The foreigner may hope to see some sense in the situation if he will apply himself diligently to realities, and forget, for one bright half hour, the slogans taught him by hard-working editorial writers whose knowledge of the labor movement is confined to the observation of subway guards.

First, the diligent foreigner must understand that the seizure of the Italian factories was not the work of "agitators." The agitators in the case urged caution. They were so cautious that they did not even have courage to risk a strike. They insisted on the safer, less glorious, resource of "*ca' canny*." The factories were seized by the workmen themselves, on their own initiative. One day, soon after obstructionism had commenced, the Romeo factory in Milan announced a lockout. The workers, gathered for the day's work, simply tore down the notice, and entering the factory, went to their jobs as usual. The news spread through Milan. The fear of a lockout, and a repetition of last year's six weeks' strike, stirred the workers to action. Without waiting for the lockout to come, they ejected their employers, elected their committees, chose their red guards, and raised the red flag. Within forty-eight hours all the important metal factories in Milan, Turin, and Genoa were thus seized and guarded with guns in hand, day and night. In those cases where the workers were slow to act, the troops got there first. But these cases were few. The "agitators" began agitating for parliamentary action.

Next, the student must clearly grasp that these workers did not fancy they could run the factories without direction and discipline. On the contrary, so highly did they prize direction that they arrested their directors and threatened them with dire penalties if they did not go on directing. In many instances the technical chiefs stayed on the job and the majority of the minor bosses and specialized clerks openly cast in their lot with the manual workers. And though some of the technicians were kidnapped from their homes and compelled to go to work, not one has been mistreated by his subordinates. Again, so highly did the workers prize discipline that they instituted a regime far more severe than any which the employers would have dared impose. Any man loafing on the job was subject to punishment at the hands of the factory council. No worker might leave the grounds without special permit (except the women, who were required to go home at night). The lunch period, in many factories, was cut by a quarter of an hour. The introduction of alcoholic liquors into the factories was severely prohibited. Sleeping bunks in the factories were assigned. Disorderly sports in the factories in the evening, or anything approaching rowdyism, were severely prohibited. Choral singing was not discountenanced, but the reading of improving books was recommended as preferable.

And again, the searcher after truth must know that the

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concept of workers' control was not drawn from the essays of Lenin. It arose from the realities of the industrial situation itself. In the present wage dispute, as in all previous ones, the industrialists protested that their industry was already losing money and an increase in wages was economically impossible. The workers quoted figures to prove their side of the dispute. The industrialists replied with better ones. They proved with figures that they could not grant increased wages. I do not know whether or not their proof was valid. Neither did the workers. That is just the point. So they decided—not by any fancy imitation of Russian theories, but by a simple Q.E.D. out of experience—that they had better know. They felt the helplessness of their situation in the face of the mystery that is called business. They quite simply did not want to be helpless. So they asked for "control," which means merely "supervision of the books." The movement, then, has taken its form from the spontaneous thought and action of the masses, reacting simply and logically to their experience. The "agitators" have merely made the best of it. Each of their acts and declarations has been subsequent to a clear act of the masses.

The workers on the first day of the occupation issued rules for discipline. The central committee followed with a manifesto on the need for discipline. The workers decided to drop obstructionism and intensify labor. The committee harangued them on the need for hard work. The workers sent committees to ask other groups—factory workers, railroad men, seamen—for fuel and raw materials. The central committee appointed a Technical-Commercial Committee for the supply of raw materials and fuel. The workers undertook to sell their products in order to finance themselves. The committee formed a commission to centralize sales. The work done has, of course, been unequal. In the large Pirelli rubber factories it has been 100 per cent. In others, because of lack of materials or of technical direction, it has been little or nothing. On the whole, this experiment in self-management has worked lamely enough on the economic side. The metal industry is too complicated, too ramified, to be taken over in a day. Even when all else went well, the workers found themselves up against the stone wall of lack of credits. With the banks in the hands of their enemies, they could achieve no final results. This may, it is said, show them the folly of their ways. Or again, it may put a new idea into their heads.

In any case, the solidarity, the moral resistance, the realism of the movement have been proved. And the final result has been—there is my difficulty, I cannot write the final sentence. In another article I must set down, if not a final, at least a subsequent conclusion. I must try to explain the mystery of the government's action. And I must tell how the leaders plan to develop their present success—if, by the time I next write, it proves to have been a success at all.

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Changing Prices and the Cost of Living

By W. JETT LAUCK

THE reported tumbling in prices has perhaps created more interest than any other news since the armistice. During many weary months people of all conditions in all countries have been struggling with an ever-increasing cost of living. Hoping and praying for a change they now joyously contemplate a possible escape from the stressful conditions under which they have labored. On every hand, the uppermost questions are: "What are the causes of declining prices?" "How far will the reductions go?" "Will they be permanent?" "Will they find concrete expression in an actual decrease in the cost of living for the average individual and his family?"

The factors depressing prices at present are not difficult to ascertain. The Federal Reserve Board may be said to have started the movement. By its action in suggesting the calling or curtailment of loans based on luxuries and of loans arising from attempts to control the domestic supplies of foodstuffs and other necessaries, credit was made available for the increased production of essentials. Before long the bottom fell out of attempts by profiteers to manipulate arbitrarily the supply and prices of certain necessaries such as sugar.

Then came the decline in the purchasing ability of foreign countries, probably the most important factor in price-dropping. Raw materials, as well as foodstuffs and manufactured products, could not be disposed of abroad because foreign countries had exhausted their purchasing power in money and credit. Exports remained at home, adding greatly to the domestic supply. And the resulting price decline has been further accentuated by the action of large domestic consumers of raw materials, such as cotton and wool, in curtailing the normal demand for these products. The temporary closing of their mills by certain textile manufacturing companies is in point.

Several months ago the orgy of profiteering—in full swing since the signing of the armistice—reached the limits of human endurance, and an awakened and nearly desperate public decided to take matters into its own hands by refusing to purchase goods at prevailing prices. This unorganized but effective movement forced the retail merchants, especially those dealing in shoes, clothing and fabrics, to cut prices in order to meet their obligations, and to clear their shelves for new consignments.

These tendencies in general have been accompanied by a deflation in prices and credit, or a writing down of values, with no decrease in production, but, on the contrary, with an increase in available supplies. The voluntary action of Henry Ford and other manufacturers in cutting the prices of their products has also in the same way had a beneficial and wholesome effect. In addition large agricultural crops, an increase in the production of mines and mills by the lessening of industrial controversy and conflict, and the gains in the productive efficiency of labor, have greatly assisted the forces of supply and demand in asserting themselves against speculation, manipulation, profiteering and arbitrary price control.

The most important questions, however, in the minds of

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the public are to what extent has the cost of living been reduced, and what further permanent reductions in prices may be expected? Unfortunately when one turns from hopeful press reports to hard, cold facts, one finds that actual living costs have been only slightly reduced, and that the prospect for material relief in the near future is not encouraging. By way of illustration, the wholesale price index number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics dropped from 272 in May to 250 in August, a decline of 8 per cent. The decline in wholesale prices was not reflected in retail prices for several months. The retail food price index number rose from 217 in May to 219 in June, remained the same in July and then dropped to 207 in August, a decline of slightly less than 5 per cent.

These decreases are, of course, important, but it is by no means clear that they represent a permanent price reaction to a level below, or at least very much below, the price level of the past several months. Examination of the very recent price changes in comparison with those of preceding years and an analysis of the particular groups of commodities in which the decreases have taken place throw an interesting light upon the probable tendencies of future prices. Thus, a general drop in wholesale prices of 8 per cent between May and September of this year is in itself not particularly significant. Similar periods of decline have at various times interrupted the general upward trend of prices since the beginning of the European war. In the Autumn of 1919 a general slump in prices was widely heralded as the turning point. Dun's wholesale price index number had slumped from 200 in August, 1919, to 197 in September, and to 191 in October, a total decline in four months of almost 5 per cent, yet after October the upward movement was resumed almost without interruption until last May.

Again, it may be noted that despite the recent sharp decline in wholesale prices, present prices still remain at a level higher than existed at the armistice. Moreover, the decline in general wholesale prices as represented by the usual index numbers has been confined chiefly to two general groups of commodities, food products and clothing. Fuel and light have mounted steadily, as have house-furnishing goods. Certain other important groups, such as drugs, chemicals, lumber, and building materials, have shown only the slightest decreases. In other words, the recent price decreases have been largely limited to products, the market conditions of which have been abnormal, with nothing to indicate a continued downward trend.

The above facts are emphasized by an examination of recent cost of living figures of the National Industrial Conference Board, a federation of manufacturers' associations, which, through its research department, issues monthly reports on prices and the cost of living. The figures of this Board showed that the cost of living in July, 1920, was 104.5 per cent higher than in 1914. By September, 1920, the Board's figures showed a decline to 99.4 per cent as compared with the first year of the war. An examination of the commodity groups making up this total, however, reveals that the decrease was solely in food and clothing. Thus, the percentage figure for food dropped in July from 119 to 107 in September, while clothing dropped from 166 to 155. On the other hand, during the same period the cost of shelter or housing increased from 58 to 59, fuel, heat, and light from 66 to 78, and sundries from 85 to 88. The cost of living figures of the Massachusetts Commission on the Necessaries of Life are even more striking. Here the most recent data available show that the cost of living was 98.4 per cent higher in July, 1920, than in the year 1914. By August this percentage had fallen to 94.4 per cent as against 1914, but this reduction of only 4 per cent in the general cost of living was again due solely to a decrease in food prices.

Retail prices of foodstuffs, fabrics, and clothing have not as yet perhaps fully responded to the fall in wholesale prices, and other things being equal some further decrease in retail prices may be expected. There is no ground for the hope, however, through the forces now at work, for any radical and permanent reduction in the cost of living. There has been some deflation and wiping out of arbitrary domestic values through the policy of the banks, the voluntary action of certain producers, and the adverse conditions of foreign trade. There is no evidence, however, of a widespread replenishing of stocks of commodities, an increased supply, or a greatly accelerated production, which would permanently relieve the scarcities created by the war throughout the world, or remove the fundamental conditions which have made it possible to profiteer; that is, to take advantage of abnormal conditions to charge arbitrary and excessive prices. The provision of credit for foreign trade, or greater stability in international relations might give such a vent to our raw materials and foodstuffs as to destroy the temporary price reduction which has arisen from their recent confinement to domestic markets. Moreover, a reactionary control of the federal government might have the same effect even if it is not possible to stiffen prices by securing access to the foreign demand.

The chief significance of the present political campaign is to be found in this fact. No legislation to curb profiteering or to reduce the cost of living has been permitted to go through Congress since the termination of the war. If reactionary interests strengthen their hold on the federal government in the November elections, not only will all further attempts at remedial legislation be blocked but positive measures will be adopted to insure the extension of the present era of profiteering and exploitation. And such a prospect is more than probable. Behind a smoke-screen of meaningless campaign verbiage centering mostly about the League of Nations the program of "Big Business" has already been carefully planned and made manifest. A protective tariff measure will first be passed for the purpose of perpetuating an exorbitant level of retail prices through the elimination of possible foreign competition. At the same time the margin of profits will be further increased by exploiting the producer of raw materials. Any reductions in the cost of living which might otherwise be obtained through increased production, the shutting off of foreign markets, or the free play of supply and demand, will thus be effectually denied. Profiteering and exploitation will continue until modified by the more complete recovery of the world from the devastating effects of the war, coupled with a genuine purpose on the part of government to check those evils.

The abnormal conditions created by the war, as was to be expected, greatly increased prices and the cost of living. The war-time era of destruction, restricted production and unproductive consumption, reduced pre-existing stocks of goods and made additional accumulations more difficult, and thus brought about an excess of demand for commodities over the supply available. The net result has been scarcity values and constant rises in prices during and since the war.

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These fundamental causes of high prices are still operative and but slightly modified by post-war production. They must, of course, be corrected by greater production, thrift, and economy. This will require time and sustained effort by all the principal commercial and industrial nations of the world. There is no indication in our recent price flurries that we are approaching any consummation of this much desired object, or that there is any hope offered for an immediate and substantial reduction in the cost of living. On the other hand it is evident that the scarcity situation arising from the war is, and will continue to be, taken advantage of by conscienceless producers, distributors, and speculators, to exact huge and indefensible profits from all classes of the people. This condition of affairs must be remedied if we are to have any relief from excessive living costs while we are waiting for the economic structure of the world to right itself. Prices must be reduced to conform to costs of production, and indefensible profits must be eliminated.

The obvious emergency solution, if practical, would be governmental price control. Although this method has been continued abroad since the armistice, it was abandoned here soon after the termination of hostilities. There are other measures, however, which have been put forward and which would be even more effective. One of the most advantageous would be the enactment of a law requiring that all commodities entering into interstate commerce should be marked with the price at which they left the producer. All succeeding profits would thus be made evident to the ultimate consumer, and public opinion could be relied upon to see that they were reasonable. Supplementary legislation limiting the period during which goods might be left in cold storage and requiring that they should be marked with the price at which they were placed in storage, together with a law licensing all corporations and firms engaged in interstate commerce, would constitute an effective program for preventing arbitrary price exactions and making possible substantial reductions in the cost of living. Consumers should not permit themselves to be unduly encouraged by present price reduction, but should demand the adoption of such a program if they would secure immediate and proper relief from the existing pressure of unwarranted living costs.

Seams

By HAZEL HALL

I was sewing a seam one day—
Just this way—
Flashing four silver stitches there
With thread, like this, fine as a hair,
And then four here, and there again,
When
The seam I sewed dropped out of sight. . . .
I saw the sea come rustling in,
Big and gray, windy and bright. . . .
Then my thread that was as thin
As hair, tangled up like smoke
And broke.
I threaded up my needle, then—
Four here, four there, and here again.

Poetry and Work

By JOHN ERSKINE

THE problem of work in the world is a problem of poetry. To state the matter in these terms is to raise questions, if not derision. To speak of poetry and of work together at any time would suggest to most hearers two separate interests, as though the words brought into contrast the luxury and the discipline of life. At any time such a juxtaposition would raise the unsympathetic query whether when the worker has accomplished his hours we shall advise him to dilate his soul with a book of verse, or whether the poet should sing of the delight of labor, in the hope of casting upon drudgery some alleviating magic. If the mention of poetry and work together produces little enthusiasm, the reason probably is that we understand but vaguely the nature of poetry.

Many brilliant definitions of poetry have set the matter clear enough before us in times past and in our own day. In Max Eastman's "Enjoyment of Poetry" the first chapter, which describes "poetic people," reminds us that on every ferryboat some of the passengers are interested in crossing the river, and others are interested merely in getting across. All the people in the world, or all the moods of people, said Mr. Eastman, may be divided in the same way. Those who are interested in arriving at ends are the practical people; and those who realize, as they go through an experience, all the quality it has to yield, are the poetic folk. There could hardly be a simpler or truer indication of the poetic attitude. A statement of it, however, can be quoted from a book already immortal. "Not the fruit of experience," says Walter Pater at the close of his study of the Renaissance, "not the fruit of experience but experience itself is the end"—that is, in Mr. Eastman's words, not getting across the river but being aware of the experience of crossing, is success in life.

In other words, the essence of poetry is the realization of life, of the flavor of experience; it is the awakening to the quality of what we see or hear or do or think or feel. Habit dulls our sight and our hearing, and the tendency of all experience is, in the old phrase, to live much rather than well, to survive many moments without distinguishing each moment as it passes. From time to time, however, impelled by some unfamiliar stimulus, we become unusually sensitive to what life at that moment is, and such a realization is poetry—not verse, but the living poetry which may go into verse or into some other art or which may simply be absorbed in conduct. This poetic experience may be of a very humble physical order, no more than the exhilaration of the senses after a good night's rest, when all colors of the landscape, all sounds of the fields or of the streets, seem unusually vivid; or it may be the exultation of a Newton when he first imagines the true motion of heavenly bodies; but in either case whether the experience realized is of the senses or of the mind, the realization itself, the poetry is of the spirit. Nothing is more natural than such a realizing of life. If as we grow older the ability to seize the flavor of experience fades from us, it is only because we are jaded by unreflective living; at least we begin life sensitive to the world about us.

Wordsworth is an inevitable example. One desire directed his days from boyhood to old age—to have a passionate

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acquaintance with life. There might seem to be a break in his career when he abandoned hope of sharing personally in the French Revolution and took up, in a quiet English village, his daily round of plain living and high thinking; the change, however, is only on the surface, and is more apparent than real. In both periods he desired to live passionately. Having learned by experience, however, that immense and feverish activity does not end in a deeper realization of life, but rather in a deadening to it, he tried the other method; he relaxed his nerves and opened his heart in tranquillity for the universe to lay myriad hands upon him. And in an age of increasing activity, of more and more cruel noise and friction, men turned to Wordsworth as a seer, a prophet; even those who cared little for verse could see that happiness lay in the refinement rather than in the number of our sensations, and that the simple life was the solution for modern perplexities—the life, that is, in which men keep themselves calm and steady to receive that wealth of experience which might be different in quality but which could not be greater in quantity in one place than in another.

Almost at the same time something threatened to take from modern society any opportunity to become sensitive. The invention of machines, the application of power to looms, the organizing of the factory, that symbol of our latest world, took from us not only leisure to observe life as it streams by, but at last even the ability to observe it when we have the leisure. It is considered in some quarters the sign of a feeble brain to protest at this late hour against the development of machinery. "Too bad that life shouldn't continue picturesque and poetic and that sort of thing, but machinery has come to stay, and we'll have to put up with it." It may have come to stay, but apparently they are least willing to put up with it who have to use it; they seem more and more reluctant to use it for any long period at a time; they show an invariable delight in getting free of it, into some other form of work. They express their discontent by demanding higher wages, but higher wages cannot make them happy, for the machine has taken from them the capacity to distinguish among experiences, to realize the quality of life—in short, to find the poetry of it. A college class might judge Pater academic, but a group of tired mill-hands would hear their own thoughts when he says: "To burn always with this hard, gemlike flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life. In a sense it might even be said that our failure is to form habits; for, after all, habit is relative to a stereotyped world, and meanwhile it is only the roughness of the eye that makes any two persons, things, situations, seem alike." Unfortunately, the machine and the factory make a stereotyped world, compel the eye to be rough, blot out distinctions of persons and things. To the shoemaker each shoe that leaves his hands has its personality and therefore its interest; each is an adventure toward the perfect shoe he will some day make. In the factory, however, the perfection sought for is an identical quality in all the shoes. When Wordsworth found joy in the "mighty sum of things forever seeking" he assumed that the innumerable experiences of life are infinitely varied. If the touch of the universe, however, should turn out to be but one finger laid on the same nerve incessantly, without variation or hope of respite, we should not grow more sensitive to it; we should become callous, or we should go insane.

Even if we could greatly diminish the amount of machinery in the world, we should not thereby, with any certainty, diminish drudgery or the callousness that monotony induces. So much at least should be said on behalf of the machine advocates. Doubtless the woman who made garments by hand often missed the poetry of life as she plied her needle, and the first news of a sewing-machine was to her the tidings of leisure and release. For those women who do not earn their living by sewing, it would be foolish to deny that the sewing-machine has proved indeed a useful instrument, a means of escape from fatigue. But when we see the men and women at their machines in a sweat-shop, we question whether the mechanical invention was a blessing or a snare. The inventor thought he had solved a problem for humanity, but the solution brought a new world into being, with problems of its own.

In America we have become exponents of efficiency and prophets of scientific management. Certainly there is no reason why in some good sense all work should not be efficient, nor why whatever must be managed at all should not be managed scientifically; but when we reflect on the large possibility of loss in what we call efficiency, and the not inconsiderable element in scientific management which is really unscientific, we find it easy to be pessimistic or even cynical. Many waste motions in all labor can be saved by forethought; it is better, for example, that the bricklayer should have the bricks on a table near the level at which he works than that he should stoop to the ground for every brick. So far without question scientific management confers blessing upon us. But this diminution of drudgery does not in itself make the bricklayer's toil more interesting. There is nothing in efficient management, so far, to teach him the meaning of the house he puts up, or to make it in any way his personal concern. Moreover, scientific management goes further and suggests that labor, which once was varied, should be subdivided and thereby made monotonous; that one man should give all his time—literally all his lifetime—to a single motion or to a very brief series of motions. At this point we begin to talk of the maximum product from the point of view of the producer, but from the point of view of the laborer we begin to think of hell. We are not surprised when several passages in Taylor's book on scientific management advise us that for certain kinds of work we should seek a man of dull intelligence or of no intelligence at all, since a finer brain would be wasted on such drudgery. From the point of view of the employer this may be good sense, but what shall we think of it from the point of view of those to whom it seems unfortunate that any of the human race should remain dull or brutish, or should be set to work which will make them so?

It would be profitable to know what Europeans think of us, in this matter of the poetry of life. They will grant that we are idealists. But idealism and poetry are not quite the same thing. Although the European credits us with generous purposes, and applauds our execution of them, he will not altogether admit that we get the flavor of our energy as we exercise it, nor that we realize emotionally or intellectually the bearings of our own good intentions. We are becoming a bit mechanical, he feels, even in our virtues; we care more for efficiency than for life. At the end of the war, a report on industrial conditions in the United States was made by a labor commission to the government of a small country allied with us. The condition of the small country at that moment was so wretched that any American would have said his own land was, in

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comparison, absolutely happy. Yet the report, based upon interviews with laboring men and employers here, and upon inspection of many of our industrial centers, concluded that Europe had quite as much to avoid as to imitate in our devotion to efficiency. M. Brieux has said as much for the French opinion of us in "Les Américains Chez Nous." In significant phrases the French workingman gives the American employer some comments on our industrial system. "Economy of effort, maximum product, Taylorism, as you say. . . . I call it terrorism. . . . You must stand in front of a machine and obey it, wait on it. . . . Tick, tick, tick, steady as clock-work, always driving on, driving on, driving on. It never gets tired; it is steel, it can't think. . . . And you must obey it and move with it. . . . If you miss once, it rings a bell, and registers your failure. I tell you, it is madness. . . . It is humiliating. You feel that if you are there at all, it is only because the engineers have not yet discovered how to replace you by a more efficient connecting-rod or spring. . . . Each nation has its own character. In France the workman likes to know what he is doing; he likes sometimes to flirt with his work, as it were; he has pride in doing well, he has the pleasure of trying to do better. When you've finished a job, you caress it with your hand, and you say: 'It's done, sure enough: it will do as it is; but I'll give it just a touch here and there.'"

Not every American will agree that M. Brieux has portrayed us correctly, sympathetic though he is, but he has indicated for us what are the ideals of his own countrymen. Not all nations, fortunately, have been swept into the maelstrom of unreflecting activity. France is the notable instance of a whole people preferring the poetic experience even at the cost of commercial advancement and physical luxury. There is a profound reason, therefore, why poets and artists from the rest of the world should make their pilgrimage to this one land where life is still lived simply and, as far as the outer eye can see, quietly, but where spiritual and intellectual excitement is most intense and most refined. Indeed, France is today a challenge to the other nations, and especially to the United States and to Great Britain, an incarnate question whether any place shall be left in the world for a people who would rather live simply and poetically than efficiently and monotonously. If the American or the Englishman does not find himself comfortable in France, he need not go there; but he ought to observe that the Frenchman finds our superior railways, elevators, and bathrooms but an inadequate substitute for that higher kind of convenience which he has left at home—the privilege of enjoying the moments of existence as they pass, and of selecting from them the experiences which have meaning.

Shall we say that the United States is not France, and that with us the question of poetry in our lives is an academic rather than a vital issue? In our workmen, at least, it begins to become vital. They feel very much as the French workman does; they do not like a mechanical life; they have insisted on leisure, and they will insist on more of it. Not among the workmen but among the employers must you look for the difference between the French and the American points of view. The French employer still respects the workman's desire to be a craftsman, an artist, a maker, rather than a "hand." Until the American employer understands and encourages this desire, we cannot be happy again in our work, nor can he be happy in his—for he too, alas, has missed for the most part the poetry of life. And if we have more leisure, we must have the means and the training for spending it poetically, not on the pleasures which pass the time, but on those which give quality and distinction to each fragment of time as it passes.

Here is a gigantic task in education. It is worth our while to plead for more attention to it, for the sake of poetry, or, if the word "poetry" still frightens the practical, then for the sake of a better kind of efficiency; for if all spiritual meaning departs from the labor of the moment, if we are allowed or encouraged to ignore the far off end to which that labor contributes, we shall become desperate even to the point of starving before we will work at all.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter walked briskly along the road and the gorgeous, flaming autumn marched with him shoulder to shoulder. Gray branches bowed with bittersweet were on his right hand, and a young maple whose leaves were pure gold on his left. He had just come from an orchard where the branches, heavy with ripe fruit, bent and touched the earth. He knew that if he were to climb the elm tree just ahead, whose trunk was wreathed with blood-red creeper, he would see not only the shining ribbon of the Hudson but Bear Mountain in all its vivid autumn beauty. He could feel his soul expanding genially as his lungs expanded with the clear, sharp air. Life was very good, and all dull and dusty things were a thousand miles away. There was no particular reason, he reflected, why they should not remain so. He owned an excellent though very tiny house whose staunch oak beams had withstood the weather for upwards of 200 years; it boasted not one fire-place but two, each big enough to hold a six-foot log with ease; it was set in a valley so beautiful and gracious at every season of the year that it was impossible to tell which was most desirable; why not stay there, and forever abandon all less simple things, even driftways? Just then, for no reason at all, the Drifter remembered that he had forgotten to order the winter's coal as he had promised, and that the electrician was coming next day to do something to the electric wires; also that he had an appointment with a man for lunch. Life, after all, was not simple; it was unutterably complex. And while it was quite possible to settle permanently in his house in the valley, it was unlikely that he ever would. He reached absent-mindedly in his pocket and pulled forth—a railroad timetable.

* * * * *

WHILE never in the least able to sympathize with the indignation of certain of our gentlemanly elite over the wearing of silk shirts by workmen, the Drifter always had been puzzled to understand why anyone should want to wear a silk shirt. The Drifter has at last been enlightened by the explanation of Captain Kelly of the New York police who apologized for not interfering with the waving of the American flag and the singing of the Star Spangled Banner which so effectively prevented a lecture by Major George Haven Putnam. "The audience," protested the doughty police captain, "was a well-dressed and educated one and not an audience the police could have sailed into with their night sticks."

THE DRIFTER

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Exhibit A in *Re* Mr. Colby

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I submit the following as Exhibit A in the inquiry, "Does the Secretary of State attempt to twist and taint public opinion and to duck responsibility therefor?" On July 24 the New York *Evening Post* printed on page 2 a "special dispatch" signed with the initials of H. C. McMillan, its Washington correspondent, a story beginning as follows:

"Washington, July 24.—Some of the highest officials in the Wilson administration are for war with the Bolshevists. If there was not an election coming on there is no telling how far the Washington bureaucracy (the term as used is descriptive, not derogatory) would go in cooperation with the European Allies to aid Poland and oppose Soviet Russia.

"The United States is bourgeois. The vast majority of Americans have or want property, expect to work to get it, revere the institution of property possessed by achievement or inheritance, and detest communism. So said one of the highest officials of the Government to the *Evening Post* correspondent today. This statement was part of his call 'to arms.' 'America, wake up,' the slogan which placarded the country in 1917 and before, just about expresses what this official had to say today."

This high nameless official was then directly quoted as follows:

"What I want to drive home to Americans, to the vast majority who believe in the individual right to achieve and possess property, is that that right is now threatened. In America every other average boy of fifteen years has $100 in the savings bank. That is the bourgeois spirit. The workers in Henry Ford's factory are bourgeois. They save and own. Every lot owner and small farmer is bourgeois. The proletarian classes in the United States are very few in number. The number of Americans who have no land or other producing possessions is too small to count anything. . . . In Minnesota, within a few days, a labor union convention approved the soviet form of government. This economic epidemic, like influenza, has spread all over the world, moving from East to West, and only an intensive study can determine the relative severity of the local absorption of the germs."

His concluding statement, also in direct quotes, was:

"There's a lesson there for communities like ours where individuals have always had the right to possession of land, to the possession of other property, as aids to comfort and pleasure; communities where thrift, one of the highest virtues, has been rewarded, where the tyranny of labor unionism has been curbed. Bolshevism is the overdevelopment of unionism."

On July 27 business took me to Washington, where I asked a group of three newspaper men, frequenters of official interviews with government officers, who was this nameless one who spoke too intelligently to be either Palmer or Burleson. The newspaper men said, "That's Colby." I remarked that no story sent out on July 24 named Colby, and, of course, could not. They said, "Oh, of course not." I tested another newspaper man by reading extracts from the clipping. He said at once, "Secretary Colby." I asked whether any press correspondent at the interview had objected to what the Secretary said. The newspaper man replied, "A fellow named Todd, represents labor papers, wanted to know Colby's evidence on unions, I believe. Colby got angry."

Now, two months after the above interview comes the news of the exclusion of Mr. Todd and his colleague, Mr. Paul Hanna, from the press sessions at the State Department on the ground that Mr. Hanna had asked the Secretary of State to defend himself from charges of "forbidding reporters to tell what the Secretary of State had said to twist or taint the news." Is it impertinent to ask Mr. Colby:

1. Did you try to get the country's press to publish *bolshevism as the overdevelopment of unionism?*

2. If that is your sincere belief, on which you act officially, why do you object to letting the press say so?

New York, October 8 HEBER BLANKENHORN

Platform of the Farmer-Labor Party

[NOTE: In response to numerous requests *The Nation* prints herewith the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party. That of the Socialist Party will appear in next week's issue.]

PREAMBLE

THE American Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, states that governments are instituted to secure to the people the rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Democracy cannot exist unless all power is preserved to the people. The only excuse for the existence of government is to serve, not to rule, the people.

In the United States of America the power of government, the priceless and inalienable heritage of the people, has been stolen from the people—has been seized by a few men who control the wealth of the nation and by the tools of these men, maintained by them in public office to do their bidding.

The administrative offices of the Government and Congress are controlled by the financial barons—even the courts have been prostituted—and the people as a result of this usurpation have been reduced to economic and industrial servitude.

Under the prevailing order in the United States, wealth is monopolized by a few and the people are kept in poverty, while costs of living mount until the burden of providing the necessaries of life is well-nigh intolerable.

Having thus robbed the people first of their power and then of their wealth, the wielders of financial power, seeking new fields of exploitation, have committed the Government of the United States, against the will of the people, to imperialistic policies and seek to extend these enterprises to such lengths that our nation today stands in danger of becoming an empire instead of a republic.

Just emerging from a war which we said we fought to extend democracy to the ends of the earth, we find ourselves helpless while the masters of our Government, who are also the masters of industry and commerce, league themselves with the masters of other nations to prevent self-determination by helpless people and to exploit and rob them, notwithstanding that we committed ourselves to guaranty of self-government for all such peoples.

Following the greedy spectacle of the peace conference, the money-masters feared an awakening of the people which threatened to exact for mankind those benefits for which the war was said to have been fought. Thereupon these masters, in the United States, through their puppets in public office, in an effort to stifle free discussion, stripped from the inhabitants of this land, rights and liberties guaranteed under American doctrines on which this country was founded and guaranteed also by the Federal Constitution.

These rights and liberties must be restored to the people.

More than this must be done. All power to govern this nation must be restored to the people. This involves industrial freedom, for political democracy is only an empty phrase without industrial democracy. This cannot be done by superficial, palliative measures such as are, from time to time, thrown as sops to the voters by the Republican and Democratic parties. Patch-work cannot repair the destruction of democracy wrought by these two old parties. Reconstruction is necessary.

The invisible government of the United States maintains the two old parties to confuse the voters with false issues. These parties, therefore, cannot seriously attempt reconstruction, which, to be effective, must smash to atoms the money power of the proprietors of the two old parties.

Into this breach step the amalgamated groups of forward looking men and women who perform useful work with hand and brain, united in the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States by a spontaneous and irresistible impulse to do righteous battle for democracy against its despoilers, and more especially determined to function together because of the exceptionally

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brazen defiance shown by the two old parties in the selection of their candidates and the writing of their platforms in this campaign. This party, financed by its rank and file and not by big business, sets about the task of fundamental reconstruction of democracy in the United States, to restore all power to the people and to set up a governmental structure that will prevent seizure, henceforth, of that power by a few unscrupulous men.

The reconstruction proposed is set forth in the following platform of national issues, to which all candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party are pledged.

1. 100 PER CENT AMERICANISM

Restoration of civil liberties and American doctrines and their preservation inviolate, including free speech, free press, free assemblage, right of asylum, equal opportunity, and trial by jury; return of the Department of Justice to the functions for which it was created, to the end that laws may be enforced without favor and without discrimination; amnesty for all persons imprisoned because of their patriotic insistence upon their constitutional guaranties, industrial activities, or religious beliefs; repeal of all so-called "espionage," "sedition," and "criminal syndicalist" laws; protection of the right of all workers to strike, and stripping from the courts of powers unlawfully usurped by them and used to defeat the people and foster big business, especially the power to issue anti-labor injunctions and to declare unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

To Americanize the federal courts, we demand that federal judges be elected for terms not to exceed four years, subject to recall.

As Americanism means democracy, suffrage should be universal. We demand immediate ratification of the nineteenth amendment and full, unrestricted political rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, race, color, or creed, and for civil service employees.

Democracy demands also that the people be equipped with the instruments of the initiative, referendum, and recall, with the special provision that war may not be declared except in cases of actual military invasion, before referring the question to a direct vote of the people.

2. ABOLISH IMPERIALISM AT HOME AND ABROAD

Withdrawal of the United States from further participation (under the Treaty of Versailles) in the reduction of conquered peoples to economic or political subjection to the small groups of men who manipulate the bulk of the world's wealth; refusal to permit our Government to aid in the exploitation of the weaker people of the earth by these men; refusal to permit use of the agencies of our Government (through dollar diplomacy or other means) by the financial interests of our country to exploit other peoples, including emphatic refusal to go to war with Mexico at the behest of Wall Street; recognition of the elected Government of the Republic of Ireland and of the Government established by the Russian people; denial of assistance financial, military, or otherwise, for foreign armies invading these countries, and an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against the Russian or Irish people; instant lifting of the blockade against Russia; recognition of every government set up by people who wrest their sovereignty from oppressors, in accordance with the right of self-determination for all peoples; abolition of secret treaties and prompt publication of all diplomatic documents received by the State Department; withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already have embarked (including the dictatorship we exercise in varying degrees over the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Cuba, Samoa, and Guam); and prevention of the imposition upon the people of the United States of any form whatever of conscription, military, or industrial, or of military training.

We stand committed to a league of free peoples, organized and pledged to destruction of autocracy, militarism, and economic imperialism throughout the world and to bring about a world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

3. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

The right of labor to an increasing share in the responsibilities and management of industry; application of this principle to be developed in accordance with the experience of actual operation.

4. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION

Immediate repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law; public ownership and operation, with democratic control of all public utilities and natural resources, including stockyards, large abattoirs, grain-elevators, water-power, and cold-storage and terminal warehouses; government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads, mines, and of such natural resources as are in whole or in part bases of control by special interests of basic industries and monopolies such as lands containing coal, iron, copper, oil, large water-power and commercial timber tracts; pipe lines and oil tanks; telegraph and telephone lines; and establishment of a public policy that no land (including natural resources) and no patents shall be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly; establishment of national and state-owned banks where the money of the government must, and that of individuals may, be deposited; granting of credit to individuals or groups according to regulations laid down by Congress which will safeguard deposits.

We denounce the attempt to scuttle our great government-owned merchant marine and favor bringing ocean-going commerce to our inland ports.

5. PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY

Legislation that will effectively check and reduce the growth and evils of farm tenancy; establishment of public markets; extension of the federal farm loan system, making personal credit readily available and cheap to farmers; maintenance of dependable transportation for farm products; organization of a state and national service that will furnish adequate advice and guidance to applicants for farms and to farmers already on the land; legislation to promote and protect farmers' and consumers' cooperative organizations conducted for mutual benefit; comprehensive studies of costs of production of farm and staple manufactured products, and uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

6. GOVERNMENT FINANCE

We demand that economy in governmental expenditures shall replace the extravagance that has run riot under the present administration. The governmental expenditures of the present year of peace, as already disclosed, exceed $6,000,000,000—or six times the annual expenditures of the pre-war period. We condemn and denounce the system that has created one war-millionaire for every three American soldiers killed in the war in France, and we demand that this war-acquired wealth shall be taxed in such a manner as to prevent the shifting of the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the poor in the shape of higher prices and of increased living costs.

We are opposed, therefore, to consumption taxes and to all indirect taxation for support of current operations of the Government. For support of such current operations, we favor steeply graduated income taxes, exempting individual incomes amounting to less than $3,000 a year, with a further exemption allowance of $300 for every child under eighteen and also for every child over eighteen who may be pursuing an education to fit himself for life. In the case of state governments and of local governments we favor taxation of land value, but not of improvements or of equipment, and also sharply graduated taxes on inheritance.

7. REDUCE THE COST OF LIVING

Stabilization of currency so that it may not fluctuate as at present, carrying the standard of living of all the people down with it when it depreciates; federal control of the meat packing industry; extension and perfection of the parcel post system

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to bring producer and consumer closer together; enforcing existing laws against profiteers, especially the big and powerful ones.

8. JUSTICE TO THE SOLDIERS

We favor paying the soldiers of the late war as a matter of right and not as charity, a sufficient sum to make their war-pay not less than civilian earnings. We denounce the delays in payment, and the inadequate compensation to disabled soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and we pledge such changes as will promptly and adequately give sympathetic recognition of their services and sacrifices.

9. LABOR'S BILL OF RIGHTS

During the years that Labor has tried in vain to obtain recognition of the rights of the workers at the hands of the Government through the agencies of the Republican and Democratic parties, the principal demands of Labor have been catalogued and presented by the representatives of Labor, who have gone to convention after convention of the old parties—to Congress after Congress of old-party office-holders. These conventi ns and sessions of Congress have from time to time included in platforms and laws a few fragments of Labor's program, carefully rewritten, however, to interpose no interference with the oppression of Labor by private wielders of the power of capital. It remains for the Farmer-Labor Party, the people's own party, financed by the people themselves, to pledge itself to the entire Bill of Rights of Labor, the conditions enumerated therein to be written into the laws of the land to be enjoyed by the workers, organized or unorganized, without the amelioration of a single word in the program. Abraham Lincoln said: "Labor is the superior of Capital and deserves the highest consideration."

We pledge the application of this fundamental principle in the enactment and administration of legislation.

(a) The unqualified right of all workers, including civil service employees, to organize and bargain collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

(b) Freedom from compulsory arbitration and all other attempts to coerce workers.

(c) A maximum standard 8-hour day and 44-hour week.

(d) Old age and unemployment payments and workmen's compensation to insure workers and their dependents against accident and disease.

(e) Establishment and operation, through periods of depression, of governmental work on housing, roadbuilding, reforestation, reclamation of cut-over timber, desert and swamp lands, and development of ports, waterways, and water-power plants.

(f) Reeducation of the cripples of industry as well as the victims of war.

(g) Abolition of employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(h) Complete and effective protection for women in industry, with equal pay for equal work.

(i) Abolition of private employment, detective and strike-breaking agencies and extension of the federal free employment service.

(j) Prevention of exploitation of immigration and immigrants by employers.

(k) Vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's Act, and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. The present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public, must not be minimized.

(l) Exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

(m) A federal department of education to advance democracy and effectiveness in all public school systems throughout the country, to the end that the children of workers in industrial and rural communities may have maximum opportunity of training to become unafraid, well-informed citizens of a free country.

Books

Middle-of-the-Roadism

The New Frontier. By Guy Emerson. Henry Holt and Company.

MR. EMERSON begins with a search for the sources of American character. He finds our difference from other peoples not in love of liberty or in adherence to republican principles of government, but in survival of the traits of the frontiersman. Self-reliance, versatility, a combination of courage and practical ability—characteristics such as these, he contends, are dominant in us. This theory of the influence of the frontier, which Mr. Emerson borrows from Professor Turner, is a serviceable one, provided it is applied with discrimination. Obviously it does not account for our differences from Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, much of South America, and Siberia, which are also frontiers. But it is useful in any analysis of our inheritance. As types of the frontiersman Mr. Emerson cites five surveyors: Washington, Daniel Boone, Andrew Jackson, Thoreau, Lincoln.

Another of Mr. Emerson's primary assumptions is that the dominating portion of our population is "liberal, rather than radical or conservative." Later he defines these much abused terms. He roughly divides us into five groups, ranging from the extreme left to the extreme right: "violent radicals," who he says are typified by the syndicalists; "law abiding radicals," among whom he places socialists; "liberals," in the mathematical center; "conservatives," at their elbow; and "reactionaries," who, he assures us, are more tolerable than syndicalists because they "do not believe in violence."

This mechanistic terminology obscures much truth, because it confuses temperament and method with economic doctrine. If we used the words in their traditional senses, we should see that many syndicalists and socialists are at heart liberal, and that no one is more conservative than the doctrinaire socialist or anarchist. We should see that those who "believe in violence" are distributed among all economic groups, as are those who do not. We should understand that many a reactionary is a violent radical. But as Mr. Emerson's definitions are substantially in accord with contemporary popular usage, they help to define his own attitude and program.

The liberals who, according to his definition, take the "middle of the road," are in a vaguely explained way the inheritors of the pioneer tradition. They are the "practical men" who stand between the "now" of the radical and the "never" of the conservatives with their "not yet." Somehow one doubts that if Lincoln's father had taken the middle of the road he would ever have reached Kentucky. If John Brown was a violent radical—as he certainly seems—Lincoln was at least a law-abiding radical. Would not anyone say that Andrew Jackson was more a radical than a liberal? And as for Thoreau, imagine him on the twelve-hour shift at the bottom of the military hierarchy in a steel mill, and then ask yourself whether he would have stayed safely in the center of the highway, or would have plunged into the untracked wilderness.

More important than argument about terms, however, is the present content which they are given. This middle-of-the-road liberal—what does he think about existing problems? Two hints are given by Mr. Emerson near the beginning. The first is that he believes the Harvard Liberal Club to be more radical than liberal. The second is that he believes Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts was reelected by liberal rather than by conservative votes. Probably Mr. Emerson does not know all the facts about the grievances of the Boston police and about their strike. But many liberals would say that if ever there was illiberal action it was that of Governor Coolidge in his vindictive refusal to reemploy the policemen after the strike had been broken, although it had been demonstrated that neither the public nor the government had taken the slightest pains to remedy

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their grievances before they took matters in their own hands. And if ever there was a radical acceptance of a radical doctrine, it was the acceptance by Governor Coolidge and his partisans of the doctrine of the sanctified supremacy of the state—the very doctrine which we had so recently condemned in German historians. One wonders whether there would have been such a soul-stirring rally to this standard if the power of the state had been invoked to confiscate property rather than to deny unionism to policemen.

The labor problem Mr. Emerson approaches in a truly liberal temper. His language is the language of a moderate and a generous man. He advocates the rule of reason in industrial disputes; he admits the danger of violence, but believes any large break between owner and worker can be avoided if both sides "get together" without undue hostility. Slavery might have been abolished, he thinks, without secession and a war, if only the compromisers had dominated the extremists. It would be interesting to propound just the opposite theory. During the critical decades before the Civil War, the Northern compromisers actually did rule. They hesitated to predicate that slavery must go; they tried simply to localize it and make terms with it. Lincoln, who understood that no nation could endure half slave and half free, did not arrive until the breach was imminent. Suppose Lincoln, with his radical view of slavery, and his practical and progressive way of attaining his ends, could have come to power in 1830. Then, truly, slavery might have been abolished without a war. But just because no radical like Lincoln could control affairs in the early stages of the conflict, it ripened into hostilities. This view is surely as tenable as Mr. Emerson's. And its analogy to the conflict over the wage system is no less pertinent.

Mr. Emerson is not against unions, but he insists that unions must be of the conservative variety, who believe in the "inviolability of contracts" and in the present economic order. Yet his understanding of the facts is, to say the least, superficial. Does he know that many more contracts have been violated by so-called conservative unions than by socialist bodies like those in the clothing industry? Does he know that the preservation of agreements depends not half so much upon good faith on the part of officials as it does upon the democratic structure of the unions, and the flexibility of the agreements in question?

In defense of unionism he uses probably the worst possible example—the New York printers' strike of last year. To him, informed as he was by the employers and their press, this seems a simple case of attempted violation of agreement by a Bolshevistic rank and file, who were nobly opposed and defeated by their own officials. He does not know that the president of the union chiefly concerned had been accused by its members of misappropriation of funds, and that the controversy is still pending in the courts. He does not know that this president unconstitutionally changed the mode of election and so kept himself in office contrary to the will of the majority. He does not know that the striking pressmen violated no agreement, but merely an informal understanding arrived at between this unpopular president and an employers' association. Similarly, in spite of Mr. Emerson's verbal approval of unionism and conference, he condemns Fitzpatrick and Foster for calling the steel strike.

It would be possible similarly to analyze his acknowledgment that the workers justly desire a greater control over the industrial process. Suffice it to say that he accompanies this statement with another: "There is nothing uncompromisable between the demands of labor and the reservations of capital, except where either the demands of labor or the reservations of capital prove to be inconsistent with the American form of government." His emphasis is not upon the exception, but upon the assertion. It is evident that he does not contemplate giving the workers a real voice, or allowing them to make many changes. To him, their participation would be rather in the nature of satisfying the ego and discovering the difficulties of the employer. For he goes on to praise thrift and to assert that the chief cure for capitalism is more capitalists. He is enough an economist to see the fundamental need of "more production," but not enough to see that production depends on something more than hard work, or to inquire into the relation between production and the control of industry.

For the rest, he recommends universal military training, higher salaries for teachers and clergymen, better vocational education, more attention by business men to the press in order that radical propaganda may be counteracted by "truth," and participation by America in the League of Nations, not because it is yet perfect, but because "half a loaf is better than none."

In making adjustments to a limited environment, the "practical man" is doubtless more successful than one who thinks more radically. Where there is a road in good condition, middle-of-the-roadism wins. But the world just now is full of examples of what happens to the counsel of such men when the road is broken by floods, and a new country appears over the hill-top. The limitations of their practicality, their knowledge, and their temperament are revealed. Sometimes there is more danger in keeping to the road than in blazing a new trail.

GEORGE SOULE

"A Country Without a Guide Book"

In Morocco. By Edith Wharton. Charles Scribner's Sons.

IN 1918 Mrs. Wharton, under the guidance of a French military mission, in a French army motor, spent a month traveling in Morocco. Her account of her travels in a country without a guide book is for the benefit of the travelers who she feels sure will flood the land when the war is over. All the properties of an Arabian Nights tale are here—camels and donkeys, white-draped riders, palmetto deserts, camel's hair tents, and veiled women; and in the midst of blazing sands such incongruities as the rescue of the French official motor, stuck fast in the desert, by a passing army of turbaned white figures on pilgrimage under many-colored banners to pray at some holy tomb. Towns are few, in scattered oases or fertile valleys marked from afar by minarets rising from olive gardens and inclosed in red earthen walls overhung by fig and stunted cork trees. An odor of spices rises from the bazaars. Within the walls are turquoise-blue and white buildings, orange gardens, irises and blue aloes around secret pools to which childless women are brought to bathe; mosques with inlaid ivory, ebony, and sandalwood, and inscrutable cedar doors; bazaars where men of all tribes and nationalities offer their wares; ghettos, filthy and dark, in which babies are nursed on date brandy, and fat grandmothers still in their thirties shuffle along by the side of "incalculably aged ancestors"; and close by the jasmine and the rose.

There are fascinating pictures of Salé, where Robinson Crusoe was held prisoner; of Volubilis, the ruin of a Roman city; of Moulay Idriss [Mrs. Wharton uses the French spelling of proper names], the sacred white city of Morocco, forced only as late as 1916 to admit the Christian tourist and the French uniform; of the crumbling ruins of imperial Meknez, built in the seventeenth century by Moulay Ismaël with his Black Army of 150,000 men all trained and brought up by his orders from the age of ten, and by 25,000 Christian captives. It was here that "any prisoner who died at his task was built into the wall he was building." From Marrakech come the beautiful "pomegranate red" book bindings made by the guild of Morocco workers. Under the reed-roofed streets of Fez the song of the blind beggars, "Dust and ashes, dust and ashes," constantly symbolizes the life of this land where there is no merry-making in the Occidental sense of the word, where even the dances are all static or ritualistic, and where dreams and realities are inextricably intermingled by the all-pervading spirit of languor.

Under the guidance of the French Ministry of Fine Arts and

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as the guest of Madame Lyautey, Mrs. Wharton found herself admitted to many ceremonials from which she as a foreigner and as a woman would under ordinary circumstances have been doubly barred. She was entertained by the ladies of various harems, and in all found the same lassitude and dulness, relieved only by the passionate fondness of the women for their children, who if girls are married at eight or nine and if boys are "given their first negress" at twelve.

Mrs. Wharton, who has long loved France, has unqualified admiration for the way in which the French Ministry of Fine Arts has gone about its task, and the tact shown by General Lyautey in dealing with the native problems. She accepts without question the general theory of imperialism—"and the European powers were attempting, in the confusion of an ungoverned country, to assert their respective ascendencies. The demoralized condition of the country justified these attempts and made European interference inevitable." In the light of this premise it is easy to see how she regards General Lyautey's "pacification" of Morocco as an act of accommodation to the Moroccans and the French occupation as a benevolent institution. Caillaux's complacent revelations throw a somewhat different light on the matter.

IRITA VAN DOREN

Medieval Economics

An Essay on Mediaeval Economic Teaching. By George O'Brien. Longmans, Green and Company.

THE thesis of this volume may be briefly stated. It is doubtful whether the Church at Jerusalem, as described in the Acts, practised communism at all apart from great liberality and benevolence; if there was communism it was communism of use, not of ownership; and furthermore it was purely voluntary. The Church Fathers cannot be drawn to the support of an attack on private property. On the contrary they believed that property was one of the normal and legitimate institutions of human society. The great rule with regard to the user of property in the Middle Ages was "liberality" and "a wise and prudent saving of money for investment would be considered a course of conduct within the meaning of the word *liberalitas*." In the matter of human slavery as well as of property it is possible to cite many critical texts, but the burden of patristic reasoning was in favor of bondage. "Slavery was declared to be a blessing, because, like poverty, it afforded the opportunity of practising the virtues of humility and patience." As to the sale of property or goods the Fathers believed strongly in "the just price," although modern writers have some difficulties in discovering whether the "just price" was subjective or objective. The just price for labor is not very much discussed in medieval economic writings, because "the proper remuneration of labor was so universally recognized as a duty and so satisfactorily enforced that it seems to have been taken for granted and therefore passed over. . . . What the workers of the present day look to as a desirable but almost unattainable ideal was the universal practice in the ages when economic relations were controlled by Christian principles." The Church dignified labor. The Fathers looked upon commerce as a dangerous occupation, but "the attitude toward commerce seems to have grown more liberal in the course of the Middle Ages." The Fathers condemned usury firmly and squarely, but they did not condemn interest. By various fine and reasonable distinctions under the titles *poena conventionalis, damnum emergens, lucrum cessans,* and *periculum sortis,* they showed how just it was under certain circumstances for the lender to receive back more money than he lent. The scholastics recognized the legitimacy of unearned income and the lawfulness of rent. Medieval economic teaching "aimed at extended production through its insistence on the importance and dignity of manual labor." Respecting the distribution of wealth, the Church "insisted [it] must be regulated on a basis of strict justice." Socialism "is founded on a philosophical basis which conflicts with the very foundations of Christianity. . . . As an economic system it finds no support in the teaching of the scholastic writers."

Mr. O'Brien's book is not a weighty treatise. It is a tract—a polemical tract—based mainly on secondary sources. Its design is to give aid to those who are somewhat uncomfortable under capitalism and would escape in the direction of sweetness and charity rather than Moscow. At the same time, it will reassure those who have been frightened by Christian socialism buttressed by patristic learning. It therefore fits neatly into one of the most obvious niches in our present intellectual life.

With such an enterprise I have no quarrel. I should be interested to know how it happened that men living in the ideal state portrayed by Mr. O'Brien ever came to choose Protestantism, the French Revolution, and our "admittedly diseased society." As to the rest I am content. So far as I am concerned anyone who thinks that private property is an institution caused by the fall of man may continue to do so. Anyone who thinks that medieval economic practice grew out of medieval teaching and was "controlled" by the Church, may continue to do so. After laborious days among manorial records, capitularies, charters, deeds, statutes, and court rolls, I am of opinion that religion controlled economic life in the Middle Ages about as much as it did slavery in America, capitalism in France, communalism in old Russia, and syndicalism in Spain. But I have no desire to enter the lists with those who think otherwise. Anyone who believes that there was a consistent and closed system of economic reasoning in what appears to my poor mind to be a confused jumble of patristic writings may continue to do so. Against him I lift no cry. Neither am I disposed to wrangle with utopians of any kind. Mr. O'Brien believes that Utopia was in the Middle Ages. The classical school associated Utopia with anarchy and the police constable. Adolescent socialists place it in the future, not even at Petrograd. Judge Gary with equal rectitude places it in Pittsburgh, now.

Still, this is a reassuring book. The treasurer of St. Mary's in-the-Woods may cut the coupons from steel fives with the same sweet insouciance that gave seraphic rest to the bailiff of St. Thomas's in-the-Fields as he collected beer and barley from the villeins.

CHARLES A. BEARD

America and the Gods

The Dark Mother. By Waldo Frank. Boni and Liveright.
100%. The Story of a Patriot. By Upton Sinclair. Pasadena: Upton Sinclair.

THE author of "Our America" has given us a picture of life in the country of which he would be a prophet. He has chosen a highly impressionistic method of conveying his perceptions and observations. There are few or no connectives. Sentences and paragraphs stand alone and unfriended. Individually they are pitched in an extremely high key. The result is both nerve-racking and, in the end, without true effectiveness. Where everything is emphatic, nothing is; where simplicity is an outcast, subtlety loses its edge; a tension that never relaxes gives an impression of terror rather than of power. Where breakfast ends with "coffee that cuts mental mists," what heightening of speech will be adequate for love or hate or death? No, this cultivation of a special and esoteric way of seeing and recording things is a clever man's substitute for the creative energy he would himself like to possess and see the literature of his country display. Without sharing many of Mr. Frank's views, we have a very vivid sympathy for his situation. His is an essentially critical mind. Like so many American minds it is rootless. It tries to deposit a cultural and creative soil for its own health and nurture. Its dilemma is really a tragic one. But the thing, obviously, cannot be done.

Who are these New Yorkers in "The Dark Mother" into whose circles David Markand and Tom Rennard are drawn? They are themselves accidental, unrelated to any permanency, hopelessly *déracinés*. Modern life, Mr. Frank may urge, makes

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against the permanent and the home-rooted. But there is such a thing as inner stability and a spiritual alliance with large and vital forces. There are other homes than houses. But these people are indescribably vague and dreary; they are strangers by their own hearths and in their own breasts, strangers, moreover, who, unlike their creator, do not long for home. If Mr. Frank had desired to add to our understanding of American life by describing these paltry creatures, he should have stood above them with irony not, if he pleased, unrelieved by compassion, in his mind. But he accepts and magnifies them. Once only does he show some glimpse of the real nature of their case when he lets Tom Rennard say to his sister: "We are neither the old nor the new. I sometimes think we are nothing. We are not happy. We are not strong. We have no gods at all." A great novel might have been written on that theme. But Mr. Frank has not even attempted that task. The real and creative motive of his book seems to have come to him as an afterthought when most of it had been written. Yet that motive is at the center of his own failure in power. He is himself neither the old nor the new, neither happy nor strong. He tried to make him some gods in "Our America," but they are only manikins in mask and buskin. He must seek gods, not try to create them in his own image.

Let him observe Upton Sinclair. Mr. Sinclair does not need to go about in studios and drawing-rooms seeking idols for his worship. He has "great allies." His

> friends are exultations, agonies
> And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

Mr. Frank may be a little disdainful of our using those strong, immortal words in connection with Upton Sinclair and his rudely named narrative published by himself at Pasadena. They happen to fit the case. Mr. Sinclair has no graces and no fine gestures; he is too busy to search for new modes of expression or a new narrative technique. Sometimes, in the matter of mere words, he writes thickly and shabbily. But he has abandoned the Zolaist symbolism and declamation of his earlier books and has chosen an intellectual and artistic method which is none other than that of Swift. Throughout the long story of Peter Gudge, red-blooded, one-hundred-per cent American, Mr. Sinclair is studiously dry and calm. He permits himself no outcry, no passion, no invective, no over-emphatic word. The grim, quiet, unhurrying irony marches steadfastly on. It has no need of haste or rhetoric. For Mr. Sinclair has gods and a great subject burning, literally burning, out his heart. And so it comes about that this pedestrian mass of graceless prose achieves—in the most fundamental sense—literary values that young intellectuals seeking cultural modes for our American life can never reach.

Mr. Sinclair tells the story of Peter Gudge, who becomes, involuntarily enough, a spy and an *agent provocateur*. He is perfectly fair to Gudge and to the accesses of sincere patriotic sentimentality that persuaded the fellow's weak mind to every treachery and every infamy. Through Gudge's career Mr. Sinclair tells us more concretely and therefore more creatively than anyone else has done, how the Mooney Case was framed up; how Big Business, under cover of the Department of Justice, pursued the Reds during and after the war; how men and women were betrayed and beaten and killed for their opinions; and how, in the name of privilege tricked out as patriotism, our country has become darkened and shamed by wrongs that have no parallel except in the Spain of the Inquisition and the Russia of the Czars. At the end of the story, which is authenticated in every detail not only by Mr. Sinclair's appendix but from a thousand other sources, all that one has of honor or humanity is justly set on fire. The book will not, of course, be reviewed or advertised in the press controlled by Big Business. Hence it is the more necessary to repeat that it is a literary achievement of high and solid worth and that it illustrates—especially for Mr. Waldo Frank and his friends—that literature is born when passion compels speech and the gods who are within will not be denied their resistless utterance.

A New Miscellany

A Miscellany of American Poetry, 1920. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

IF this volume, anonymously edited and ordered, makes no claim that it offers the best recent work of only or all the representative American poets, it must at least be said to contain some reasonably representative poems by those eleven "independent personalities" who separately consented to appear here in what the publishers call a first "biennial exhibition." Containing whatever it does, it vindicates with unusual accuracy the critical preferences which seem to prevail just now and so embarrasses the reviewer who would like to declare something newer than that John Gould Fletcher, Robert Frost, Vachel Lindsay, Amy Lowell, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and Carl Sandburg are better than other poets today—better, for instance, to take up the "Miscellany" itself, than Conrad Aiken, James Oppenheim, Jean Starr Untermeyer, Louis Untermeyer, and Sara Teasdale, the last at any rate as she is found here, in less than her true form.

Mr. Fletcher and Miss Lowell, by this evidence if no other, continue to lead such poets as confine themselves to rich and rare appearances, and, loving words mostly for their color or their shape, write for other poets. Mr. Fletcher, in Noon, The Stone Place, Sunset, and Exit, carves four of the most solid landscapes that purely literary hands are likely to achieve for a time. The earth he looks down upon is granite and marble, pale brown and gray, with occasional lines of scarlet cliff or creamy strand. Miss Lowell, on every page her customary vigorous self, distributes epithets with brisk and admirable precision, particularly in New Heavens for Old, an allegory of the quiet life no less vivid, but of course infinitely less resigned, than George Herbert's The Collar.

> My fellows call to me to join them,
> They shout for me,
> Passing the house in a great wind of vermilion banners. . . .
> They roar down the street like flame,
> They explode upon the dead houses like new, sharp fire.
>
> But I—
> I arrange three roses in a Chinese vase:
> A pink one,
> A red one,
> A yellow one.
> I fuss over their arrangement.
> Then I sit in a South window
> And sip pale wine with a touch of hemlock in it,
> And think of the winter nights,
> And field-mice crossing and re-crossing
> The spot which will be my grave.

Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Sandburg, Mr. Frost, and Mr. Robinson reap richer rewards only because they work in deeper material. Mr. Lindsay's sympathies cavort with their old agility between the corners of the world, from Carmi, Illinois, to the moon, and from a golden-haired girl in Louisiana to the horses of the sea. Mr. Sandburg's loyalties and angers are fierce as few things are in poetry or in life; they shoot like bolts into sockets, without hesitation, without restraint, without any undue fear of noise. Perhaps no poem in the volume is as profound as The Runaway, by Mr. Frost, wherein behind an absolutely lifelike surface lie spaces only half seen through, spaces dim with the mystery of familiar fact, spaces hooded with the falling white silence of a poet's puzzled, affectionate thought.

> Once when the snow of the year was beginning to fall,
> We stopped by a mountain pasture to say "Whose colt?"
> A little Morgan had one forefoot on the wall,
> The other curled at his breast. He dipped his head
> And snorted to us. And then he had to bolt.
> We heard the miniature thunder where he fled

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And we saw him or thought we saw him dim and gray,
Like a shadow against the curtain of falling flakes.
"I think the little fellow's afraid of the snow,
He isn't winter-broken. It isn't play
With the little fellow at all. He's running away.
I doubt if ever his mother could tell him 'Sakes,
It's only weather': He'd think she didn't know.
Where is his mother? He can't be out alone."
And now he comes again with a clatter of stone
And mounts the wall again with whited eyes
And all his tail that isn't hair up straight.
He shudders his coat as if to throw off flies.
"Whoever it is that leaves him out so late,
When other creatures have gone to stall and bin,
Ought to be told to come and take him in."

Thought is provoked here, rather than expressed, as thought is provoked by anything that really and quietly happens in the world. Mr. Frost says nothing about life, but he has a sense of it which he can communicate. The earth is not empty while he speaks; it is filling with all the mountain pastures that one had forgotten existed, with all the sounds and sights that never are heard or seen.

Books in Brief

THE Book of Genesis has been interpreted in countless ways both by Jewish and non-Jewish authors. But, according to Professor Julian Morgenstern in "The Book of Genesis. A Jewish Interpretation" (Department of Synagogue and School Extension), "the Jewish interpreters have confounded Biblical myths, legends, and traditions with what they have mistakenly called Biblical history." On the other hand the work of the non-Jewish scholars has been almost entirely analytic in character. "They have picked Genesis, and the entire Bible in fact, to pieces. They have resolved it into its component sources, and have determined with quite reliable accuracy when and under what conditions these were written. . . . But singularly enough they have failed almost completely to determine the ends for which these sources were combined, and the thoughts and aims which animated the editors. . . . Therefore they have failed to realize, except in the most superficial manner, that the Bible, and particularly the Torah, is entirely a Jewish work, written by Jewish authors, and edited by Jewish thinkers, the product of Jewish religious genius, and a unit of Jewish religious thought and doctrine, and that it must be animated throughout by some deep Jewish purpose, and can, in the final analysis, be correctly understood only when interpreted from a positive Jewish standpoint." To fill this gap is the purpose of Professor Morgenstern's own book. While accepting the most advanced results of Biblical criticism, the author tries to bring out the truths which were meant to be conveyed by those who gave the Bible its final shape and are still of value to modern man. Thus, the first chapters of Genesis, while consisting of myths and folk-tales similar in many details to those of other primitive peoples and in some respects borrowed from non-Israelite sources, "yet breathe throughout the spirit of the one living God, the Creator of the university and of life, who looks out upon what he has made and finds it very good." The story of Eden is here conceived as the attempt of a nomadic people to explain why man is compelled to work. The account of Jacob, which is regarded as a compilation of various Jacob legends, is interpreted to convey Jacob's objectionable character and his ultimate repentance and change of mind.

THROUGH the exploits of their soldiers in Siberia and the standing which their country has gained among the nations of Europe, Bohemians have in recent years acquired a new

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MOON-CALF By Floyd Dell Author of "Were You Ever a Child?"

MOON-CALF is by far the most distinguished and most significant first novel by an American that has ever been offered me for publication. It will, I believe, command wide attention and universal respect. $2.50. Alfred A. Knopf

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By Raden Adjeng Kartini With an Introduction by Louis Couperus
This remarkable autobiography of the first feminist of the Orient should be studied by everybody who is interested in education for women anywhere, in the political situation in the East Indies, and in oriental literature. Couperus says in his introduction: "The soul of this girl was one with the soul of her people; Holland may well be grateful to the hand that revealed it." $4.00.

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A new edition of Mr. Oppenheim's first work which brought him recognition. "A milestone in our poetic progress."—*Boston Transcript.* $2.00.

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dignity in the minds of Americans. To take advantage of the prevailing mood of appreciation, Mr. Thomas Capek has written "The Czechs in America" (Houghton Mifflin). The work is in the nature of a compilation, bringing together the available facts in an evidently painstaking and accurate manner. The history of the Bohemians in this country is not an eventful one, and their contribution to American life not brilliant, though in every way respectable and creditable. They began arriving in large numbers simultaneously with an important stratum of German immigration, after the revolution of '48. The substantial quality of the immigrants may be inferred from the two records which they made at Ellis Island: Mr. Capek points out that they stand lowest in the percentage of illiteracy and highest in the percentage of skilled labor. They spread freely over the farming areas of the Middle West, and agriculture became their chief occupation. In the cities they were general laborers and tailors, the second generation also contributing its quota of clerks, salesmen, and mechanics. While they enjoy their share of the country's prosperity, they are conspicuously absent from the ranks of big business. As might be expected, they have poured into the general current men of public affairs, professional men, and scientists, though but few of national distinction. They have also had their own intellectual movements, fed from European sources, their waves of rationalism in religion and of radicalism and socialism in politics. In their cultural habits and ideas they have been closely akin to the Germans, with whom they have frequently intermarried in this country. This is not to say that they have merged their national loyalty. They have tenaciously adhered to their native grouping and, like all the other strains in our population, have piously preserved the ties which bound them to the land of their origin. They have organized their own fraternal orders, supported newspapers in the parent language, and maintained schools for teaching that language to their children. Their devotion culminated in a liberal and enthusiastic response to the appeal of Professor Masaryk for aid in obtaining Bohemian independence. Of their showing on this occasion they are justly proud, and no patriotic American has seen fit to reproach them for it. It would seem, after all, that it is not the hyphen that is objectionable so much as the thing hyphenated.

Drama

The Real Thing

THE Neighborhood Playhouse is opening its first season as a regular repertory theater. Performances will be given six nights a week; the actors are professionals; the maximum price of the ticket has been kept at one dollar. The directors, consciously or not, are testing the theatrical temper of New York. For if any competent critic had been asked to name the conditions of such a test, he would have replied without hesitation: first-rate plays adequately presented at a very moderate entrance fee. The fact that the Playhouse is on Grand Street makes the test no less fair, though a little more searching. A slothful impulse will have to be overcome.

Galsworthy wrote "The Mob" in 1913. It grew out of his memories of the Boer War, and it was his intention to state dramatically the case for a parliamentarian who opposes his country's wrong-doing and suffers martyrdom at the hands of the populace. Now Galsworthy's intellectual courage was, even in those days, gallant and clean. But his moral courage was impaired by a touch of sentiment and a fear of impropriety. The consequence is that he sacrificed a great deal to an artificial lucidity and balance which give the play a structure as calculatedly geometrical as Hervieu's own. His protagonist, having thought thus far, could not but have thought a good deal farther. But in 1913 Galsworthy was, evidently, quite as afraid of making Stephen More a "crank" as More's wife was of having him called one. Ibsen, dour old soul that he was, saw deeper and more intensely. Dr. Stockmann is indeed something of a crank. What does it matter? What have these vain fashions of the world to do with everlasting issues? Galsworthy stops just short of that perception and so he stops where greatness begins. He would write an exquisite panegyric of Socrates. He would not dine with the old man. There are table manners!

Another and an external circumstance tends to diminish the original force of the play. The World War has taught us the insufficiency of its vision and its protest, the thinness of its voice. Either the predatory imperialisms are curbed or mankind goes under. It is they who sting the mob to madness. From the grimy confusions of the oppressed and deceived Galsworthy would today, one hopes, turn to sinister and immaculate old men in foreign offices and banks. When these two deductions have been duly made, "The Mob" remains a noble work of art and its production a service of the highest order to our theater.

That production has moments of excess in its emotional expression. The interpretation of the leading part is spasmodic where all should have been impassioned firmness. But there are also not a few moments of beauty both to the mind and to the eye. And ripeness and more inner harmony will doubtless come as time goes on. The directing, especially in the mob scenes, leaves no room for criticism. But in all these matters the true friend of our theater will let a too tender sensitiveness stay at home. A good production of "The Mob" enriches and clarifies us; a superb production of "Call the Doctor" adds to our poverty and our confusion.

The Theater Guild begins its season with David Pinski's "The Treasure." The play has been before the public in book-form for some years and is tolerably well known. It is a somber comedy of life in a Jewish village of the old Russian pale and deals in a fashion that is at once concrete and symbolical with man's lust for gold and for possessions as instruments of both distinction and liberation. The production is, on its own theory, of unexceptionable excellence. But the theory is a mistaken one. There is no doubt that the play has universal values, though the expression of those values suffers cruelly through the omission of the epilogue. But because it has universal values, it occurred to the producers to file down the concreteness of its folk characteristics and to emphasize the universal at the expense of the particular. But that is precisely what the nature of art forbids. Not too often nor too insistently can a certain saying of Goethe's be quoted: "All that happens is a symbol and, by representing itself perfectly, it reveals the significance of all else." The particular contains the universal; man is most broadly human when he is most highly individual. In proportion as these Jewish villagers are utterly themselves will they instruct us concerning the nature of all men.

In the actual production the theory of stressing the universal alone could not, of course, be faultlessly carried out even on its own ground. Miss Celia Adler, whose art is much more admirable in English than in Yiddish because it is far more disciplined from within, could not help giving a thoroughly authentic interpretation of the girl Tille. Mr. Dudley Digges, persuaded by his innate sense of the preciousness of the homely truth, is admirably and unexpectedly Jewish in speech and gesture. The others, among whom are such gifted players as Edgar Stehli, Helen Westley, Henry Travers, and Erskine Sanford, are neither Jew nor Gentile. They are neither concrete nor symbolical, because only the sharply concrete can be the broadly symbolical. Hence the character of "The Treasure" as a Jewish folk-play is deliberately blurred for the sake of those universal implications which that very blurring obliterates. Yet it must be clear from these very considerations that even the Guild's errors are on a plane of artistic perception and creative intelligence that renders its productions unique and uniquely valuable. The modern art of the theater still keeps its abiding-place among us on the stage of the Garrick.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

The Constitution of Fiume

THE Constitution of the free State of Fiume, dated August 27, 1920, was written by Gabriele d'Annunzio, Regent and Director of Foreign Affairs. The following translation was made by the courtesy of Mr. Whitney Warren, official representative in the United States of Commander d'Annunzio and the National Council of Fiume.

The Perpetual Will of the People

Fiume, for centuries a free Italian commune, by the unanimous vote of her citizens and through the lawful voice of the National Council, openly dedicated herself wholly and entirely to her mother country, on October 30, 1918. Her right is threefold like the impenetrable armor of Roman myth.

Fiume is the guardian out-post of the Giulian Alps; it is the remote fortress of Italian culture; it is the last bearer of the standard of Dante. It was by her efforts that, throughout the centuries, through vicissitude after vicissitude, struggle after struggle, and suffering after suffering, the Quarnero of Dante was preserved Italian. Through her were kindled and are still kindled the spirit of Italian national character from shore to shore, from island to island, from Volosca to Laurana, from Moschiena to Albona, from Veglia to Lussino, from Cherso to Arbe. This is her historical right.

Fiume, originally the old Tarsatico situated at the southern extremity of the Liburnian Valley, rises and stretches over the Giulian Alps. It is wholly inclosed within that circle which tradition, history, and science attest to be the sacred confine of Italy. This is her terrestrial right.

Fiume, firm of will, heroic in her endurance of pain, insidious plotting, and violence of all sorts, has for the past two years been vindicating her right to choose her own destiny and her own task by virtue of that principle expressed to her people by one of her own unjust adversaries. This is her human right.

Iniquity, greed, and foreign arrogance dispute her threefold right; sorrowful Italy does not oppose these, but leaves her very victory to go unrecognized and to be of no avail. For this reason the people of the free city of Fiume, ever mindful of their Latin destiny and intent upon the fulfilment of their lawful desire, resolve to arrange their affairs according to the spirit of their new life, and will limit the privileges to that territory which under the title of "Corpus Separatum" was assigned to the Hungarian Crown, but will extend these privileges in a fraternal spirit to those Adriatic communities which may decide to cease delaying, to shake off their oppressive sadness, and to revolt and rise again in the name of the new Italy.

And so, in the name of the new Italy, the people of Fiume, bound together by justice and liberty, solemnly swear to fight with all their might to the bitter end to preserve against any contestant the contiguity of their land to the mother country, perpetual champion and defender of the Alpine boundaries established by God and Rome.

Fundamental Principles

1. The sovereign people of Fiume, availing themselves of their unassailable and inviolable sovereignty, take as the center of their free state the "Corpus Separatum" with all its railways and its entire port. But, just as they are determined to preserve the contiguity of their land to the mother country on the west, they do not renounce their right to a more just and more secure confine on the east, which may be eventually determined by future political changes and by agreements made with rural and maritime communities attracted by the free port rights and by the liberality of the new statutes.

2. The Italian Regency of Quarnero consists of the territory of Fiume, the islands of ancient Venetian tradition which have voted to share her fortunes, and all those kindred communities which because of their sincere act of adherence can be admitted according to the spirit of an appropriate prudential law.

3. The Italian Regency of Quarnero is a government purely of the people—res populi—which has as its basis the power of productive labor, and for its plan the most liberal and most varied forms of autonomy such as were understood and practiced during the four glorious centuries of our communal period.

4. The Regency recognizes and confirms the sovereignty of all its citizens, without any discrimination as to sex, race, language, class, or religion. But it amplifies and elevates and sustains above every other the right of the producers; it abolishes or reduces the excessive monopoly of power; it divides the powers and duties so that through harmonious cooperation community life may become more vigorous and rich.

5. The Regency protects, defends, and preserves the liberties and rights of the people; it insures internal order through discipline and justice; it seeks to instil into the daily life a sense of that virtuous joy which ought to revive the spirits of a people liberated at last from the yoke of restraint and falsehood; it constantly strives to elevate the dignity and increase the prosperity of all its citizens; so that citizenship will come to be considered by the foreigner as a noble title and the highest honor, as was the case under the Roman law.

6. Under the new law all citizens of the state, regardless of sex, are and consider themselves equal. The exercise of the rights recognized by the Constitution cannot be lessened or suppressed in any case except by public judgment and solemn condemnation.

7. The fundamental liberties—freedom of thought and of the press, of meeting and association—are guaranteed by the statutes to all citizens. Any religious cult is permitted and respected, and can build its own temple; but no citizen can invoke his beliefs and his religious rites to escape performance of the duties prescribed by the existing laws. The abuse of constitutional liberties, when it tends toward an illicit end and disturbs the equilibrium of the community, can be punished by laws drawn up for this purpose; but these laws must in no way impair the principle of these same liberties.

8. The statutes guarantee to all citizens of both sexes: primary instruction in light and healthful schools; physical training in open and well-equipped gymnasiums; labor rewarded by the minimum required to enable one to live comfortably; assistance in time of sickness, infirmity, and involuntary idleness; a pension for old age; the right to enjoy wealth lawfully acquired; the inviolability of the home; the right of habeas corpus; compensation for damages in case of judicial error or abuse of power.

9. The state does not recognize ownership as the absolute dominion of the person over the thing, but it considers it the most useful of social functions. No property can be reserved exclusively by a person as if it were a very part of him; nor is it lawful for a slothful proprietor to allow it to remain idle or to dispose of it unwisely, to the exclusion of others.

The sole lawful claim to dominion over any means of production and exchange is labor. Labor alone is master of the thing made most advantageous and most profitable to general economy.

10. The port, station, and railroads included in the territory of Fiume are the perpetual, incontestable, and inalienable property of the state. By a statute of the free port, ample and free carrying of commerce, industry, and navigation is granted to all strangers as well as inhabitants, with equality of treatment to all, and the same immunity from exorbitant duties, and safety of persons and things is guaranteed.

11. A national Bank of Quarnero, under the supervision of the Regency, is intrusted with the task of issuing paper money and of carrying out all other credit transactions. A special law will determine the methods and rules, setting forth at the same time the rights, obligations, and burdens of the banks already

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operating in the territory, and those about to be established there.

12. All citizens of both sexes have the full privilege of choosing and carrying on any industry, profession, art, or trade.

Industries undertaken or fostered by foreign money and every enterprise permitted to strangers will be guided by a liberal law.

13. Three types of spirits and forces contribute to the founding, progress, and growth of the community: citizens, corporations, communes.

14. Three religious beliefs are exalted above all others in the united communes:

Life is beautiful and worthy to be lived earnestly and magnificently by the man re-created by liberty;

The re-created man is he who every day discovers some virtue for his own needs, and who every day has a new gift to offer to his brothers;

Labor, even the most humble and the most obscure, if it is well done, tends to beautify and embellish the world.

Citizens

15. The following have the rank and title of citizens in the Regency: all citizens actually enrolled in the free city of Fiume; all citizens belonging to other communities who request admittance to the new state and whose request is granted; all those who by public decree of the people are invested with the rights of citizenship; all those who, requesting legal citizenship, have obtained it by decree.

16. The citizens of the Regency are invested with all civil and political rights upon reaching the age of twenty-one. Regardless of sex, they become lawful voters and are eligible to hold any office.

17. The following citizens will be deprived of political rights: those accused of infamy; those who rebel against military service in defense of the territory; those whose taxes are in arrears; incorrigible parasites who are a burden to the community, unless physically unable to work owing to illness or old age.

Corporations

18. The state is the common will and the common aim of the people for an ever higher material and spiritual vigor; only constant producers of the common wealth and constant creators of the common power are the real citizens of the republic, and constitute with it a single operating substance, a single ascending fullness. Whatever the kind of work contributed, whether manual or intellectual, in industry or art, in planning or doing, all are obliged to be enrolled in one of the ten existing Corporations which reflect in their organization the spirit of the Commune, but are free in the manifestations of their energy and freely determine the mutual obligations and rewards.

19. In the first Corporation are enrolled the salaried workmen in industry, agriculture, commerce, and transportation; and the artisans and small landed proprietors who perform their own rural tasks or who have a few casual helpers.

The second Corporation comprises the technical and executive staff of every private industrial and rural establishment, excluding the proprietors themselves.

In the third are enrolled all those attached to commercial establishments, who are not strictly workmen; and in this too joint proprietors are excluded.

The fourth Corporation unites the promoters of industry, agriculture, commerce, and transportation, provided they are not merely proprietors or joint-proprietors, but according to the spirit of the new laws, wise leaders seeking to further the interests of their company.

The fifth is composed of all public, communal, and civil employees of all ranks.

The sixth comprises the intellect of the land: the young student body and its instructors; teachers in the public schools and students in the higher institutions, sculptors, painters, decorators, architects, musicians, and all those who carry on the fine arts, scenic arts, and decorative arts.

In the seventh are enrolled all those who practice professions of their own choice which have not been included in the preceding classifications.

The eighth is composed of cooperative societies in production, labor, consumption, whether industrial or agricultural; and only the executives of these same societies can be represented.

The ninth comprises all sea-faring people.

The tenth has neither art, nor number, nor title. Its coming is expected like that of the Tenth Muse. It is reserved to the mysterious forces of the people in toil and attainment. It is almost a votive figure consecrated to the unknown genius, to the apparition of the new man, to the ideal transfiguration of labor and time, to the complete liberation of the spirit over pain and agony, over blood and sweat.

It is represented, in the civic sanctuary, by a burning torch upon which is inscribed an old Tuscan word of the time of the Communes, a remarkable allusion to a spiritualized form of human labor: *Fatica Senza Fatica* (Toil without Toil).

20. Every Corporation is invested with the rights of a competent juridical person duly recognized by the state. It chooses its own consuls, voices its desires in its meetings, makes its own conditions, articles, and agreements, rules according to its wisdom and experience, provides for its own needs, and adds to its patrimony by exacting from its members a sum commensurate with their wages, salary, company profits, or professional gain. It defends its own class at all times and seeks to increase its dignity; it strives to perfect the technique of the arts and trades; it seeks to discipline labor by modeling it after patterns of modern beauty. It incorporates small workers to encourage them and to spur them on to greater efforts; it makes mutual aid a sacred obligation; it determines provisions to be made for sick or infirm coworkers. It chooses its own standards, its emblems, its music, its songs, and its prayers; it introduces its own ceremonies and rites; it contributes generously to the common festivities and anniversaries, and to sports on land and sea. It reveres its dead, respects its elders, and honors its heroes.

21. The relations between the Regency and the Corporations, and between the various Corporations, are regulated according to the same plan outlined by the statutes in regulating the dependency between the central powers of the Regency and the Communes, and between the various Communes. The members of each Corporation constitute a free electoral body eligible to elect representatives to the Council of Provisors. First place in public ceremonies is reserved for the Consuls of the Corporations and their staff.

Communes

22. There is restored to the Communes the ancient "normative power" which is the right to full autonomy; the special right to make their own laws within the limits prescribed by universal right. They exercise in themselves and for themselves all the powers which the Constitution does not grant to the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the Regency.

23. Every Commune has the privilege of creating for its own use a body of municipal laws, evolved in various ways from its own customs and peculiar character, from its energy, and from the new conscience.

But every Commune must request the approval of the Regency for the statutes proposed. This will be granted when the statutes do not contain anything openly or covertly violating the spirit of the Constitution; or when these statutes are approved, accepted, and voted upon by the people, and can be revised or amended at will by a free majority of citizens.

24. The right of the Communes is recognized, in matters of legislation and administration, to draw up agreements among themselves, arrange terms, and make treaties. But they are obliged to submit them to the central executive power for consideration. If the power decides that such agreements, terms, and treaties violate the spirit of the Constitution, they are referred to the Court of Reasons for its decision, from which no

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appeal can be made. If this court declares them unconstitutional and invalid, the executive power of the Regency provides for their nullification.

25. When the internal order of a Commune is disturbed by factions, counter-factions, plots, or any other form of violence or intrigue, or when the integrity and dignity of a Commune are threatened or injured by another prevaricating Commune, the executive power of the Regency intervenes as mediator or pacificator, provided either that the communal authorities mutually agree to the intervention, or the intervention is requested by one-third of the citizens exercising political rights in that place.

26. To the Communes belong the special duties of establishing a primary system of instruction based on the standards set forth by the scholastic council of the state; of nominating communal judges; of instituting and maintaining a communal police system; of levying taxes, and of negotiating loans within the Regency and even outside the Regency—the latter being sanctioned by the Government only in cases of manifest need.

Legislative Power

27. The legislative power is exercised by two bodies chosen by election: the Council of the Best, and the Council of the Provisors.

28. The Council of the Best is elected according to the methods of universal suffrage, directly and secretly, by all citizens of the Regency who have attained their twenty-first year, and who are fully invested with political rights.

Every voting citizen of the Regency is eligible to the Council of the Best. Members of the Council of the Best hold office for three years. They are elected on the basis of one for every thousand electors; but in any case, their number cannot be less than thirty. All the electors form a single electoral body. The election is carried out according to the methods of universal suffrage and proportional representation.

30. The Council of the Best has executive and legislative power in dealing with the penal and civil code, the police, national defense, secondary public instruction, the arts, and the relationship between the state and the Communes. The Council of the Best normally assembles once a year, in the month of October, for a very brief session.

31. The Council of Provisors is composed of sixty electors, elected by a secret, universal suffrage and governed by the law of proportional representation.

Ten Provisors are elected by the industrial and inland workmen, ten by the sea-faring people, ten by the promoters of industry, five by agricultural and industrial technicians, five by executive officers of private concerns, five by teachers in the public schools, students in the higher institutions, and others belonging to the sixth Corporation, five by the followers of liberal professions, five by public employees, and five by cooperative societies of production, labor, and consumption.

32. The members of the Council of Provisors hold office for two years. They are not eligible unless they belong to the Corporation which they represent.

33. Normally the Council of Provisors meets twice a year, in May and November, and employs the Laconian method of debate. It has executive and legislative power in dealing with the commercial and maritime code, labor laws, transportation, public improvements, commercial treaties, customs, tariffs, and the like, technical and professional instruction, industries and banks, arts and trades.

34. The Council of the Best and the Council of Provisors meet as one body once a year, at the beginning of December, forming a great national Council under the title of "Arengo del Carnaro." The Arengo deals with and passes upon relations with other states, finance and treasury matters, higher education, revision of the Constitution, the extension of freedom.

Executive Power

35. The executive power of the Republic is exercised by seven directors elected by the National Assembly, the Council of the Best, and the Council of Provisors. The Director of Foreign Affairs, the Director of Finance and the Treasury, and the Director of Public Instruction are elected by the National Assembly. The Director of the Interior and Justice and the Director of National Defense are elected by the Council of the Best. The Council of Provisors elects the Director of Public Economy and the Director of Labor. The Director of Foreign Affairs assumes the title of Prime Director, and represents the Republic in dealing with other states *primus inter pares*.

36. The office of the seven Directors is permanent and continuous. Its function is to deal with matters which do not come within the jurisdiction of the present Administration. The Prime Director is chairman of the debate and has a decisive vote in case of a tie. The Directors are elected for one year, and can be reelected only once, but after an interval of one year they can be renominated.

Judicial Power

37. The following have a voice in the judicial power: the Good Men, labor judges, civil judges, criminal judges, the Court of Reasons.

38. The Good Men, elected through popular trust, by all electors of the various Communes in proportion to their number, pass judgment in civil and commercial controversies involving an amount of not more than 5,000 lire, and dispose of those cases concerning offenses whose maximum penalty is one year.

39. The labor judges pass judgment upon controversies involving salaried employees and employers, and between wage-workers and employers. They constitute colleges of judges nominated by the Corporations which elect the Council of Provisors, in the following proportion: two by the industrial and inland workers, two by the sea-faring people, two by the promotors of industry, one by the industrial and agricultural technicians, one by the members of the liberal professions, one by the executive attaches of private organizations, one by public employees, one by the teachers, students in higher institutions, and other members of the sixth Corporation, and one by the societies cooperating in production, labor, and consumption.

The labor judges have the privilege of dividing their colleges into sections in order to facilitate judgments, and thus expedite justice. The right of appeals is under the jurisdiction of the joint sessions.

40. The civil judges try all those civil, commercial, and penal cases over which the Good Men and the judges of labor have no jurisdiction; criminal cases are excepted. They constitute the Tribunal of Appeals for sentences imposed by the Good Men. They are chosen by the Court of Reasons through contest among citizens holding the degree of doctor of laws.

41. Seven sworn citizens, assisted by two deputies and presided over by a civil magistrate, compose the Criminal Tribunal which tries all cases of political offense and all crimes punishable by a term of imprisonment exceeding three years.

42. The Court of Reasons, elected by the National Council, is composed of five active members and two deputies. At least three of the active members, and one of the deputies must be chosen among the doctors of law. The Court of Reasons passes judgment upon the acts and decrees issued by the legislative power and by the executive power, and decides upon their constitutionality; all statutory conflicts between the legislative power and the executive power, between the Regency and the Communes, between the various Communes, between the Regency and the Corporations, between the Regency and private individuals, between the Communes and private individuals; all cases of high treason against the Regency on the part of those citizens having legislative and executive power; all attempts against the rights of the people; civil disputes between the Regency and the Communes, and between the various Communes; transgressions committed by those in power; questions involving citizenship and exile; questions pertaining to the ability of the various judicial magistrates.

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The Court of Reasons is the final judge of all sentences pronounced and nominates the assisting magistrates. Those serving in the Court of Reasons are not allowed to hold any other office, whether in the locality where the court is located or in any other Commune; nor are they allowed to pursue any profession, industry, or trade during their term of office.

The Chief

43. When the Regency, in time of extreme danger, realizes that its salvation lies in the devoted will of a single person capable of uniting, arousing, and rallying the forces of the people to struggle and victory, the National Council solemnly assembled in "Arengo" can nominate such a one Chief by verbal vote and intrust to him supreme unlimited power. The Council determines the duration of his command, remembering that in the Roman Republic dictatorship lasted six months.

44. The Chief, during the period of his command, assumes all political, military, legislative, and executive powers. Those who share the executive power assume the responsibilities of secretaries and commissioners under his supervision.

45. When the time of his command has expired, the National Council meets to consider reinstating the Chief, or substituting another citizen in his place, or deposing him, or banishing him.

Any citizen invested with political rights, regardless whether or not he has any power in the Regency, may be elected to this high office.

National Defense

47. In the Italian Regency of Quarnero all citizens of both sexes between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five are liable to military service in defense of their land. After classification the men who are physically fit are to serve in the land or naval forces, those who are less fit and women whose health is normal are to serve in the ambulance corps, in hospitals, in the various departments, in munition plants, and in any other auxiliary work according to individual aptitude and skill.

48. The state pledges itself to aid all citizens who may contract an incurable disease while in military service, and promises help to their needy families. The state pledges itself to adopt the children of those who have met a glorious death in defense of their country; it aids their relatives in case of need, and recommends their names to the memory of future generations.

49. In time of peace and safety the Regency does not maintain a standing army; but the whole nation is armed according to methods prescribed by a law concerning this question, and with wise efficiency keeps in training its forces on land and sea. Strict military service is limited to the period of instruction and to the periods of actual warfare or immediate danger. During the period of instruction and in time of war, a citizen does not lose his civil and political rights, and he can exercise these when they are compatible with the requirements of active discipline.

Public Instruction

50. For all people of noble origin culture is the mightiest and the most far-reaching of weapons. For the Adriatic people who for centuries have been engaged in a relentless struggle against the barbarous usurper, it is more than a weapon; it is as indomitable a power as right or faith. For the people of Fiume in their very moment of rebirth to freedom, it becomes the most effective instrument of salvation and success in dealing with the foreign intrigues which have for centuries pressed heavily upon it. Culture is the aroma which destroys corruption. Culture is steadfastness opposed to weakness. In the Quarnero of Dante the knowledge of the language of Dante results in respect for and preservation of that which, throughout the ages, has been considered the most priceless treasure of the people, the highest testimony to their noble origin, the supreme mark of their sense of moral domination. Moral domination is a war-like necessity in the new state. The exaltation of beautiful human ideals arises from its will to conquer.

In accomplishing its unity, gaining its freedom, and restoring its justice, the new state must above and beyond all its principles resolve to defend, preserve, and champion its unity, its freedom, and its justice in the kingdom of the spirit. The spirit of Rome must have a place in its culture. The spirit of Italy must dominate its culture.

The Roman rhythm, that fatal rhythm of achievement, must lead anew along healing paths the other troubled race which deludes itself into thinking that it can efface our glorious footsteps and falsify our noble history. In this land of Latin extraction, in this land tilled by the Latin plowshare, the other race will be fashioned sooner or later according to the creative spirit of Latinity, which is nothing more than a well-balanced harmony of those forces which contribute to the formation of the free man.

Here is fashioned the free man. And here is prepared the kingdom of the spirit, purified by hard toil and persistent effort. For this reason the Italian Regency of Quarnero considers as the apex to its laws the culture of the people; it builds its patrimony upon the patrimony of the great Latin culture.

51. There shall be instituted in the city of Fiume a free university, its site to be chosen with a view to allow ample increase in the curriculum and in the number of its student body; it is to be governed by statutes as are the Corporations.

There shall be constituted in the city of Fiume a school of fine arts, a school of decorative arts, and a school of music, based upon the abolition of every academic vice and prejudice, guided by the most sincere and ardent spirit of research after new truths, inspired by a motive strong enough to purge them of the encumbrance of the poorly-gifted, to separate good from better, and to aid the better to a true discovery of themselves and the new relations between stubborn matter and human sentiment.

52. The Council of the Best supervises the work of the elementary schools; the Council of Provisors that of the technical and professional schools; and the National Council supervises the higher branches of learning.

In all schools of all Communes the teaching of the Italian language has marked preference. In the elementary schools the teaching of the various dialects spoken in the Italian Regency of Quarnero is compulsory. Prime importance is attached to the language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of each Commune, and parallel courses are given in the language spoken by the minority. If any Commune attempts to withdraw from the obligation of instituting such courses, the Regency exercises its right to provide such instruction, charging the Commune with the expense involved.

53. A scholastic council determines the plan and method of primary instruction which is compulsory in all schools of the Communes.

First place is given to the teaching of choral singing, founded on themes of the most ingenuous peasant poetry, and to the teaching of decorative art modeled after the most authentic rustic art.

The Council is composed of a representative from each Commune, two representatives from the elementary schools, two from the technical and professional schools, two from the institutions of higher learning, chosen by the instructors and students, two from the school of music, two from the school of decorative arts.

54. No religious emblems or political posters should be hung on the light, airy walls of the school-room. The public schools welcome the followers of all religious creeds, the believers of all religious faiths, as well as those who can live without an altar and without a God. Liberty of conscience is strictly respected. And each one can offer his own silent prayer. But let there be written on the walls those inscriptions which stir the soul, and which, like the themes of a heroic symphony, though repeated over and over again, never lose their power to thrill us. Let there be hung on the walls the imposing images of those masterpieces which with their lyrical power interpret the perpetual aspirations and dreams of men.

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Constitutional Reform

55. Every seven years the great National Council meets in special assembly to consider revision of the Constitution. The Constitution can be revised at any time when requested by a third of the citizens who have the right to vote.

The following have the privilege of proposing amendments to the Constitution: members of the National Council, representatives of the Communes, the Court of Reasons, the Corporations.

The Right of Initiative

56. All citizens belonging to the electoral bodies have the right to propose laws which pertain to matters coming within the jurisdiction of the respective Councils. But the motion is not valid, unless seconded and supported by at least one-fourth of the electors of either Council.

Popular Referendum

57. All laws sanctioned by the two legislative bodies may be subjected to popular vote, for public approval or disapproval, when requested by a number of electors equal to at least one-fourth of the citizens possessing the right to vote.

Right of Petition

58. All citizens have the right to submit petitions to the legislative bodies duly elected by them.

Incompatibility

59. No citizen can exercise more than one function nor take part in two legislative bodies at the same time.

Recall

60. Any citizen can be removed from office when he loses his political rights by sentence, confirmed by the Court of Reasons, when the removal is indorsed by simple vote of one-half plus one of those enrolled in the electoral body.

Responsibility

61. All who enjoy its privileges and all public officials of the Regency are legally and civilly responsible for the damage done to the state, the Commune, and the plain citizen through their transgressions, abuse, carelessness, cowardice, and incapacity.

Compensation

62. To all public officials designated in the statutes and constituting part of the new plan, a fair compensation is granted, the amount of which shall be determined from year to year by the National Council.

Edileship

63. There is instituted in the Regency a College of Ediles, chosen carefully among men of pure taste, perfect skill, and modern education. More than the Roman edileship the College recalls those "officials in charge of the decoration of the city" who in our "Quattrocento" designed a street or a public square with that same musical sense which guided them in the preparations for a state celebration or a carnival. It supervises the daily living of the citizen; it looks after the welfare, upkeep, and sanitation of public buildings and individual houses; it prevents the defilement of city streets with poorly constructed buildings.

It arranges civic festivals on land and sea with sober elegance, having in mind those ancestors of ours for whom, in order to create miracles of joy, there sufficed a soft light, a few delicate garlands, and the knowledge of the art of instilling grace and elegance in human movements and gatherings. It makes the workman feel that to decorate the most humble dwelling with some sign of popular art is a pious act, and that there is a religious sentiment of human mystery and profound nature in the most simple sign that is handed down from generation to generation, be it carved or painted on the kneading trough, the cradle, the loom, the distaff, the coffer, or the yoke. It seeks to revive in the people a love for beautiful lines and colors in the things used in every-day life, pointing out to them what our ancestors were able to create with a simple geometric motif, a star, a flower, a heart, a serpent, or a dove represented on a pitcher, a jug, a jar, a bench, a basket, or a platter. It seeks to show the people why and how the spirit of ancient communal liberty was expressed not only in the lines, reliefs, and connections of the stones, but even in the human imprint placed upon the utensil which has been made to live and to have power.

Finally, convinced that architecture expresses the character and energy of a race, it aims to make architects and constructors understand that the new materials—steel, glass, and cement—are only waiting to be lifted up to their proper place, and to be fused in harmonious creations of modern architecture.

Music

64. In the Italian Regency of Quarnero music is a religious and social institution. Every thousand years or every two thousand years there springs from the depths of humanity a hymn that lives through the ages. A great race is not only that race which creates its god in its own image, but that race which also knows how to create its own hymn for its god. If every rebirth of a noble race is a lyric effort, if every unanimous and creative sentiment is a lyric power, if every organization is a lyric organization in the dynamic and impetuous sense of the word, music considered as a ritual language is the exalting motive of any action and of any creation in life.

The advent of every great spiritual awakening always seems to be announced to the expectant and anxious multitude through the medium of some overpowering musical masterpiece. The reign of the human spirit has not yet begun. "When matter working upon matter shall be able to free men from the clutches of toil, then the spirit will begin to see the dawn of its liberty," so said a man from the Adriatic shores, a man from Dalmatia; the blind prophet of Sebenico. As the crowing of the cock invokes daybreak, so does music invoke dawn, *excitat auroram.* Meanwhile music finds its movement and its utterance in the instruments of labor, in gain and in play, and in the roaring machinery which also follows as exact a rhythm as does poetry. From its pauses is formed the silence of the tenth Corporation.

65. In all Communes of the Regency there will be formed choral and orchestral groups aided by state contribution. In the city of Fiume there has been intrusted to the Ediles the building of a rotunda capable of accommodating an audience of at least ten thousand, furnished with comfortable seats and a large pit for the orchestra and for the chorus. The big choral and orchestral celebrations are "entirely free"—as the Fathers of the Church say about the grace of God.

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